

Bangladesh District Gazetteers

CHITTAGONG HILL-TRACTS

972
5/2/13

GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH
MINISTRY OF CABINET AFFAIRS
ESTABLISHMENT DIVISION

Bangladesh District Gazetteers

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

General Editor:

MUHAMMAD ISHAQ, M. A., B. S. E. S.

Formerly Principal, Azizul Huq College, Bogra; Professor and Head
of the Department of History in different Govt. Colleges of
Bangladesh; Lecturer, Dacca University; Member,
Historical Records and Archives Commission
of Pakistan and author of *History of
Indo-Pakistan* (Lahore, 1961),
Architects of Pakistan (Dacca
1951), *Pak-Bharater Itihas*
(1952) and *Islamer Avi-
naba Itihas* (1952),
etc.

7896

Officer on Special Duty, Establishment Division,
Incharge, Bangladesh Government Press, Dacca.

1971

913.492
BIAN

✓ ৭৪৭৩
২০১৬

Research Officers

1. SAIYID IQBAL AZIM, M.A., B.E.S. (Retired), formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Urdu, Dacca College and Chittagong College; author of *Mashriqi Bengal Men Urdu* and *Diwan-e-Natiq*, etc.
2. BAZLUR RAHMAN, M.A., B.E.S., formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy, B.M. College, Barisal.
3. ABDUS SHAHID, M.A., B.E.S., formerly Professor of History, A.H. College, Bogra.
4. MD. SHAMSUR RAHMAN, M.A., B.E.S., trained in Adult Edn. (Manchester), formerly Professor of Bengali, A.H. College, Bogra and Jagannath College, Dacca; Specialist in Publication, Adult Education Branch of the Education Directorate and author of *বুটিকার গান*, *গাঁও আকাশের তারা*, etc.
5. MD. SHAMSUL HUQ, M.Sc., B.E.S., formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Geography, Government College of Commerce, Chittagong and Chittagong Government College.
6. HARUNUR RASHID, M.A., B.E.S., (Transferred), formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, Jinnah College, Dacca.
7. MD. SAYEEDUL HUQ, M.A., B.E.S., formerly of the Department of Economics, A.M. College, Mymensingh and Eden Girls' College, Dacca.
8. FAZLUL HUQ KHAN, M.A. (Sociology), M.A. (Pol. Sc.).
9. SHAMIMA ISLAM, M.A. (Resigned).
10. MAJEDA SABIR, M.A., B.J.E.S., (Resigned), formerly of the Department of Geography, Rajshahi Government College.



A View of Chandraghona Paper Mills, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

FOREWORD

While this Gazetteer had been awaiting publication, the death occurred of Mr. S.N.H. Rizvi, General Editor, District Gazetteers, Bangladesh, under whose guidance and supervision its compilation had been accomplished. Some chapters of the gazetteer had been drafted by Mr. Rizvi himself.

Mr. S.N.H. Rizvi, a senior member of the Administrative Service, was a scholar of repute and a prolific writer, well-known for his research, particularly in the field of Muslim history. When Government in 1963 set up a separate organisation for re-writing the district gazetteers, he was appointed General Editor and he held this post till the time of his death. As General Editor he had brought to bear upon this exacting task a wealth of personal erudition and a keen perception of its diverse character and requirement.

Capt. T.H. Lewin's "The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein", published in 1869, is perhaps the earliest available book in English on this region. An account of Chittagong Hill Tracts was also included in Sir William Hunter's "A Statistical Account of Bengal", volume VI, published in 1876. The official District Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts was written by R.H. Hutchinson and published in 1909. F. D. Ascoli's "Early Revenue History of Bengal", published in 1917, also contains an account of Chittagong Hill Tracts. A number of other publications on this district and its people appeared after Independence (1947).

For compilation of this Gazetteer, credit should go to the late General Editor and his staff of the Assistant Editor and Research Officers. Among experts who drafted some portions of the gazetteer, special mention should be made of Mr. Zakir Hossain, Head of the Department of Zoology, Dacca University, Dr. A.K.M. Nurul Islam, Reader in Botany, Dacca University, and Mr. A. Alim, Assistant Chief Conservator of Forests, Bangladesh. Mr. H. Brammer of the F.A.O., Deputy Project Manager, Soil Survey of Pakistan, very kindly reviewed the entire chapter on Physical Aspects. A good deal of material on General Administration and a few other subjects had been borrowed from some compilations by Mr. Md. Abu Syed, whose contribution in this respect is thankfully acknowledged.

Government in 1964 had set up an Advisory Board with the Senior Member, Board of Revenue, Bangladesh, as Chairman and a number of eminent personalities as members to scrutinise the final drafts prepared by the General Editor and his staff with the assistance of experts and advisers. Among the members of the Advisory Board, we are specially indebted to Mr. S. M. Ali and Mr. A. M. Salimullah Fahmi, who, besides providing some pertinent material of historical importance, had throughout taken deep interest in scrutinising and improving the drafts.

DACCA;
The 18th June, 1971.

A. Q. ANSARI,
*Senior Member,
 Board of Revenue, Bangladesh
 and
 Chairman, Advisory Board,
 Bangladesh District Gazetteers.*

PREFACE

The present Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts is coming out exactly 62 years after the publication of the first District Gazetteer of the district. During the intervening period the district has undergone rapid changes in different spheres of life. The publication of this Gazetteer is the first official venture after Independence (1947) to bring out the history of the district in various aspects of its life.

The district of the Chittagong Hill Tracts was formed by separating the hill and forest areas of the old Chittagong district in 1860 A.D. The total area of the district is 5,138 square miles. In 1961 the total population of the district was 3,85,079 its density being 76 per square mile. In area its position is first and in population last amongst the nineteen districts of Bangladesh.

The district is a hilly region and its historical development had been different from that of alluvial plains of Bangladesh. It was a bone of contention between Hill Tripura and Arakan. For some time it was under the Sultans of Bengal. The Mughals conquered it from the Arakanese in 1666. It remained in Mughal possession until 1760 A.D., when it was ceded to the East India Company. At the beginning the chiefs of the hill tribes were allowed to retain their authority, but gradually by degrees they were brought under British control.

When the district was first created in 1860 it was placed under the control of an officer with the designation of Superintendent of the Hill Tracts. He was subordinate to the Commissioner of Chittagong Division. The headquarters of the district were first established at Chandraghona. The Superintendent was styled as the Deputy Commissioner in 1867. The headquarters of the district were transferred from Chandraghona to Rangamati in 1868. In 1891 it was reduced to the status of an independent subdivision and placed in charge of an Assistant Commissioner, directly subordinate to the Divisional Commissioner. It was again formed into a district in 1900 and the old designation of Superintendent was restored. In 1920 the Superintendent was redesignated as Deputy Commissioner. The district ceased to be a tribal area with effect from the 10th January, 1964.

This is the only district in Bangladesh having no Municipality. In 1900 a District Advisory Council consisting of three tribal Chiefs was formed to assist the Government in revenue

collection and general administration. It was only in 1960 that a District Council was set up for the first time. The institution of *Bazar* Fund which is a peculiarity of the district may be taken as a substitute for a Municipality. The Deputy Commissioner is the *ex-officio* administrator of the *Bazar* Fund. The Subdivisional Officers have control of the administration of *Bazars* within their respective subdivisions. A Town Committee was established at Rangamati in 1965. It consisted of a Chairman and six members at the start and all were elected.

Before 1860 the internal administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts was in the hands of two hill Chiefs, assisted by a number of subordinate village officials. Even during the Mughal rule two domiciled *Zamindars* or Chiefs, known as Chakma *Raja* and Poang (Bohmong) *Raja*, were recognised as local collectors of revenue. In 1782, another batch of the Arakanese Mugh families immigrated from Arakan headed by one Machai, whom the East India Company recognised as Mong *Raja* in charge of collecting revenue. In 1900 the district was divided into four circles: (1) the Chakma Circle in Rangamati Sadar Subdivision occupies the centre and north of the district, and is mainly inhabited by the Chakmas; (2) the Bohmong Circle in Bandarban Subdivision occupies the southern portion of the district and is inhabited by the Mugh and the Kuki tribes; (3) the Mong Circle in Ramgarh Subdivision in the north-east is peopled principally by the Tipras and (4) the fourth Circle consists of several Government Forest Reserves. The revenue income of the Chiefs was a house tax levied only on the head of each family who practised *jhum* cultivation in the hills. When land is required for reclamation by plough cultivation, a settlement is made with the tenant. The plough rent is collected through the agency of the Circle Chief and *mauza* headman. Forest revenue is derived by taxing the removal of the forest produce from Government reserves, and also from the open forest, if removed from the district for the purposes of trade and business.

The population of the district is constituted mostly by tribal people. The Census of 1951 returned their percentage at more than 91. They are broadly classified into two heads, *viz.*, (a) the ancient tribes which fall under Kuki groups (also known as the children of the hills), are Kuki, Kumi, Mro, Lushai, Khyang, Banjogi and Pankho (Lai); (b) the domiciled tribes, which fall under Tipra group (also known as the children of the rivers), are Chakma, Marma (Mugh), Tipra (Mung), Tangchangya and Riang. The Chakmas were immigrants from Arakan. The worship of Siva and Kali crept into their ritual. The majority of the Chakmas

live in Rangamati Sadar Subdivision (Chakma Circle). The majority of the Marmas (Mughs) occupy the Bandarban subdivision. They are for the most part descendants of the Arakanese who fled there, when their own country was overrun by the Burmese in 1784. The religion of the Marmas is Buddhism but it is mixed up with animism. Most of the minor tribes are animistic in religion. Almost all the tribes inhabiting the Sajek Valley, namely, Lushais, Pankhos and Chakmas are converts to Christianity. The tribes are undergoing rapid changes with the impact of modern civilization. The construction of the Kaptai Dam on the Karnafuli river necessitated shifting and resettling of well over 1,00,000 persons. This has also resulted in changing of the tribal structure and consequent disruption of tribal life. The development of tourism and advent of industry have given rise to changed customs and acceptance of generally adopted modern morals.

The economy of the district is predominantly agricultural. The whole of the eastern and western parts of the district are hilly and were until recently considered suitable only for *jhum* cultivation. *Jhum* comprises 4.3 per cent. of the total land in the Hill Tracts, excluding the reserved forests. The southern, northern and central parts of the district have some areas suitable for plough cultivation, 54,000 acres of plough land having been already submerged by the Karnafuli Reservoir. This submerged land accounted for 40 per cent. of the entire plough lands of the district. The hillman, however, has strong aversion to the irksome labour of the plough cultivation. The cereals grown in the Hill Tracts are rice and maize. The main crops of flat lands are the rice and the *rabi* crops. Rice is the staple crop of the district.

The communication in the district is extremely difficult and inadequate. There is no direct road connection between the district headquarters (Rangamati) and the subdivisional headquarters of Ramgarh and Bandarban. In recent years the 48-mile Chittagong Rangamati Road has been improved. The road connecting Kaptai with Chittagong (40 miles) is one of the finest in Bangladesh. Ramgarh is connected by an all-weather motorable road (22 miles) from Dhoom in Chittagong district. Bandarban can be approached by road (16 miles) from Dohazari in Chittagong district. Elephants are used extensively for movement of timber. They transport public officials and goods wherever jeeps have no access. But the rivers are still a very important means of communication in the district.

The tribal people built their own houses, in most cases weave their own clothes, make their baskets, manufacture their household utensils, agricultural implements, drink, etc. After Independence (1947) some large scale industries were developed in this district. The Karnafuli Multipurpose Project is the first hydro-electric development project in Bangladesh. The Karnafuli Paper Mills Ltd. at Chandraghona and the Karnafuli Rayon and Chemicals Ltd. at Chandraghona, being the first venture of its kind in this country, are two other important large scale industries. Conditions in the district offer healthy prospect for plantation of rubber. Accordingly, the BICD had taken up plantation of rubber in the district in 1961 and at present it extends over an area of 1,000 acres.

In recent years trading is gradually spreading among the hill people. But still the bulk of the trade and commerce of the district remains in the hands of the Bengalees from Chittagong. The principal exports consist of forest produce, cotton, rice, oilseeds and boats. The principal imports are salt, piece-goods, iron and dry fish. The principal trade centres are Rainkhyong, Rangamati, Subalong, Kasalong, Bandarban and Ajodhya.

The position of the district in respect of literacy is almost the lowest in the country. The percentage of literates recorded in 1961 Census was 12.79. The percentage of literacy among males was 20.60 and among females 3.20. The progress of education is very slow due to many reasons. The communication difficulties are almost insuperable. A vast portion of the district is covered by dense forests and the remaining portions are also so far-flung and sparsely populated that it is very difficult to allocate schools strictly on the basis of population alone. The people of some localities have little fascination for education as yet, with the result that the roll-strength and attendance in schools of those areas are very thin.

Bengali is the mother tongue of the majority of the people of Chittagong Hill Tracts. Besides English, Bengali is also the official language of the district. The Chakmas speak a form of corrupt Bengali, written in Burmese character, the Mughls speak a dialect of Burmese language called Mughi and the Tipras speak a language of their own which is akin to Kachhari. The rest of the tribes speak different Assam-Burma tongues of their own. Some Arabic and Persian words are in common use among the Chakma people. The Chakma language has its own alphabet and is rich only in respect of

folk-literature. Out of 17 religious books of the Chakmas 16 are in Pali language. The written character of the Mughli language is the same as that of the Burmese. Previously there was no written character of the Lushai language. But at present it has been written in Latin alphabet. In recent years some books of Lushai language, grammar and dictionaries, etc., have been written. There is no written character of Kuki, Banjogee, Pankho and Khami languages. Similarly, the Tipra and Mrong languages have no written character.

The writing of the present Gazetteer of the Chittagong Hill Tracts began soon after the inception of the office in 1963. The different chapters were drafted at different times and the last drafting (on Forest) ended in June, 1970.

I am deeply grateful to Mr. A. Q. Ansari, Chairman, Advisory Board, District Gazetteers, for his valuable help and guidance in preparing this book.

I record my heart-felt condolence at the sudden death of my esteemed colleague Mr. S. N. H. Rizvi (*ex-General Editor*) who died on 31st March 1971. His death is an irreparable loss to this organization which he loved so much that even after retirement he was willing to serve it in honorary capacity.

I am thankful to the following members who attended the different meetings of the Advisory Board and extended their whole-hearted co-operation in improving the drafts: Mr. S. M. Ali, Mr. A. M. Salimullah Fahmi, Principal Ebrahim Khan, Miss Azizunnesa, Joint D. P. I.; Dr. A. Farouk, Head of the Department of Commerce, Dacca University; Mr. Zakir Husain, Head of the Department of Zoology, Dacca University; Dr. A. K. M. Nurul Islam, Reader in Botany, Dacca University; Dr. Quazi Din Muhammad, Reader in Bengali, Dacca University; Mr. M. A. Chowdhury, (Bureau of Statistics); Mr. A. N. Kalimullah, Deputy Secretary, Home Department; Mr. K. A. Khabir, Deputy Secretary, Home Department; Mr. S. S. H. Rezvi, (Home Department); Mr. M. I. Chowdhury, A. D. P. I.; Dr. A. H. M. Karim (Education Directorate); Mr. M. M. Anwar Ali, (B. N. R.); Mr. A. K. M. Abdul Hakim (BWAPDA); Mr. Abdus Salek, (Bureau of Statistics) and Mr. Daudur Rahman (Bureau of Statistics).

In conclusion, I would like to express my hearty thanks to my colleagues who worked on different chapters: Mr. M. Shamsul Huq (Physical Aspects); Mr. Bazlur Rahman (People, Society and Culture and Places of Interest); Mrs. Majeda Sabir (Agriculture and Livestock); Mr. Md. Sayeedul Huq (Economic Condition and Communication); Mr. A. K. M. Harunur Rashid (Industries, Trade and Commerce); Mrs. Shamima Islam (Public Health); Mr. Saiyid Iqbal Azim (Education and Information and Local Government); Mr. Shamsur Rahman (Language and Literature); Mr. Abdus Shahid (Land Revenue Administration) and Mr. Fazlul Huq Khan (General Administration).

All the chapters of this book were printed before the complete liberation of Bangladesh on the 16th December, 1971. That is why Pakistan or East Pakistan were printed for Bangladesh. Now it is requested that Bangladesh may kindly be read in place of East Pakistan or Pakistan wherever used for the territory now comprising Bangladesh.

DACCA;

MUHAMMAD ISHAQ,

The 30th December, 1971.

General Editor.

GAZETTEER—A RETROSPECT

The term Gazetteer was used for the first time in the eighteenth century for a writer in a gazette or a newspaper. It was first employed as equivalent to 'Geographical Index' by Lawrance Echord in 1704. According to Chambers' Encyclopaedia, a gazetteer is an alphabetical arrangement of place-names, giving some indications at least of their situation. When descriptive historical and statistical information is added, it is often known as a geographical dictionary or lexicon. Chambers has treated Encyclopaedia, Gazetteer and Dictionary as belonging to the same category and similar in the treatment of subjects and records that the "Encyclopaedia in the modern sense has Islamic origin. Al-Farabi in the tenth century wrote his Encyclopaedia first in the days of Caliph Ubaid and named after him as *Inshai-Kullo-Ubadea* which is preserved in the Scroll Library of Spain".

It may be pointed out that the origin of Gazetteer is also Islamic and dates back to the seventh century A. D. The description of Basra by Ali, the Fourth Caliph, is interesting to read, "Basra is a city so near rivers but its people do not exploit it to their benefit. It is apprehended that the city of Basra will again be inundated leaving only the minar of its mosque standing like a boat, or a sea bird on the sea, an ostrich seated on ground as curse of Allah swept people in the form of flood submerging everything in its way, low-lying areas as well as high lands. Its ancient name was Mootafeka which was thrice inundated and on every occasion its entire population perished by drowning. Water of its wells is blackish reflecting the sourness of its citizens' disposition. It is an extremely dirty and stinky city. Citizens are forced to lead lives of sin. Of the world's total nine-tenth of evils, corruptions, vice and sins find place in this city. The citizens are ignorant and stupid. Sagacity and wisdom have given place to foolishness and idiocy in their mental build-up. Basarites are conspicuous targets for those who want to exploit and wrong them like a soft morsel convenient to be swallowed up and easy prey to be hunted. Basarites joined an army led by a female, and even obeyed the blubbering of a camel, but took to their heels when the camel was killed. Thus they proved their wickedness and depravity of nature, faithlessness and untrustworthiness of character and hypocrisy and schism in religion" (*Nahjul Bulagha* XVII-XVIII, pp. 14-15, Asim Kufi's Futuh, Tabari's Tarikh).

This form of book-writing has really originated with Muslims in the eighth century A. D. Ibn Zabala wrote, 'The historical

and geographical account of Medina' in 199/814 A. D., but the book has not survived (Encyclopaedia of Islam). Names of some Muslim writers of books of this nature are given below—

- (1) Futuhul Baladan of Balazuri (Ahmad b. Yahya b. Jabir) was written in 869 A. D. His treatment of Mecca, Medina, Basra, conforms to most modern standard and conception of a Gazetteer.
- (2) Ahmad b. Abi Yaqub b. Wahhab b. Wazeh al-Abbassi Yaqubi's (d. 284 A.H/897 A.D.) description of Baghdad, Kufa, Samarra, Basrah, has all the informations likely to be contained in a modern Gazetteer.
- (3) Khatib Baghdadi (Hafiz Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Ali b. Baghdadi) who died in 463 A. H. wrote *Tarikh Baghdad*.
- (4) Later Ibn Asakir wrote *Tarikh Damishq* and Nuruddin Ali Samhudi wrote *Tarikh Medina*.
- (5) Persian specimens of Gazetteer are *Tarikh Yezd* belonging to medieval period and published by Asiatic Society, Calcutta and *Talebabad* recently published in Iran.
- (6) *The Baburnamah* (third decade of the Sixteenth Century) lays the foundation of Gazetteer writing in this sub-continent. In his book Babur has described, in nutshell, the topography, soils, climate, culture and architecture of the Indo-Pak sub-continent.
- (7) In sixteenth century A. D. Abul Fazl wrote *Ain-i-Akbari* the greatest book of its kind ever written in Asia. He marshalled information about each unit of administration by collecting these from local officials and reports on the subject.

In modern times the East India Company took the lead of writing District Gazetteers of some eastern districts. Dr. Francis Buchanan was commissioned to undertake a survey and write District Gazetteers of Rangpur, Dinajpur and other districts in the Presidency of Bengal, on the 7th January 1807 with an allowance of 1,500 Sicca rupees monthly, exclusive of the pay and *batta* of his rank and efficient learned assistants, draftsmen, etc., were appointed to execute the work assigned. The Government officially laid down the following synopsis of work, in the form of a directive on the 11th September, 1807:

"Your inquiries are to extend throughout the whole of the territories subject to the immediate authority of the Presidency of Fort William.

"The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that these inquiries should commence in the district of Rangpur, and that from thence you should proceed to the westward through each district on the north side of the Ganges, until you reach the western boundary of the Honourable Company's provinces. You will then proceed towards the south and east, until you have examined all the districts on the south side of the great river, and afterwards proceed to Dacca, and the other districts towards the eastern frontier.

"It is also desirable that you should extend your inquiries to the adjacent countries, and to those petty states with which the British Government has no regular intercourse. In performing this duty, however, you are prohibited from quitting the Company's territories, and are directed to confine your inquiries to consulting such of the natives of those countries as you may meet with, or natives of the British territories who have visited the countries in question.

"Your inquiries should be particularly directed to the following subjects, which you are to examine with as much accuracy as local circumstances will admit.

- "I. A topographical account of each district, including the extent, soil, plains, mountains, rivers, harbours, towns, and subdivisions, together with an account of the air and weather, and whatever you may discover worthy of remark concerning the history and antiquities of the country.
- "II. The condition of the inhabitants, their number, the state of their food, clothing and habitations; the peculiar diseases to which they are liable, together with the means that have been taken or may be proposed to remove them; the education of youth; and the provision or resources for the indigent.
- "III. Religion; the number, progress, and most remarkable customs of each different sect or tribe of which the population consists, together with the emolument and power which their priests and chiefs enjoy; and what circumstances exist or may probably arise that might attach them to Government or render them disaffected.
- "IV. The natural productions of the country, animal, vegetables and minerals especially such as are made use of in diet, in medicine, in commerce, or in arts

and manufactures. The following works deserve your particular attention:

- "1st. The fisheries, their extent, the manner in which they are conducted and the obstacles that appear to exist against their improvement and extension.
- "2nd. The forests of which you will endeavour to ascertain the extent and situation, with respect to water conveyance. You will investigate the kinds of trees which they contain, together with their comparative value and you will point out such means, as occur to you, for increasing the number of the more valuable kinds, or for introducing new ones that may be still more useful.
- "3rd. The mines and quarries are objects of particular concern. You will investigate their produce, the manner of working them, and the state of the people employed.
- "V. Agriculture, under which head your inquiries are to be directed to the following points:
 - "1st. The different kinds of vegetables cultivated, whether for food, forage, medicine or intoxication or as raw material for the arts; the modes of cultivation adopted for each kind; the seasons when they are sown and reaped; the value of produce of a given extent of land cultivated with each kind; the profit arising to the cultivator from each, and the manner in which each is prepared and fitted for market. Should it appear that any new object of cultivation could be introduced with advantages you will suggest the means by which its introduction may be encouraged.
 - "2nd. The implements of husbandry employed, with the defects and advantages of each, and suggestions for the introduction of new ones, that may be more effectual.
 - "3rd. The manure employed for the soil, especially the means used for irrigation.
 - "4th. The means used for excluding floods and inundations, with such remarks as may occur to you on the defects in the management, and the remedies that might be employed.

- "5th. The different breeds of the cattle, poultry, and other domestic animals reared by the natives, the manner in which they are bred and kept; the profits derived from rearing and maintaining them; the kinds used in labour; whether the produce of the country be sufficient, without importation, to meet the demand or to enable the farmer to export; and whether any kinds not now reared might be advantageously introduced.
- "6th. Fences; the various kinds that are used, or that might be introduced, with observation concerning the utility of this part of agriculture in the present state of the country.
- "7th. The state of farms: their usual size, the stock required, with the manner in which it is procured; the expense of management; the rent, whether paid in specie or in kind; the wages and condition of farming servants and labourers employed in husbandry; tenures by which farms are held, with their comparative advantages, and the means which, in your opinion, may be employed to extend and improve the cultivation of the country.
- "8th. The state of the landed property, and of the tenures by which it is held, in so far as these seems to affect agriculture.
- "VI. The progress made by the natives in the fine arts, in the common arts, and the state of the manufactures; you will describe their architecture, sculptures, and paintings, and inquire into the different processes and machinery used by their workmen, and procure an account of the various kinds and amount of goods manufactured in each district. It should also be an object of your attention to ascertain the ability of the country to produce the raw materials used in them; and what proportion, if any, is necessary to be imported from other countries and under what advantages or disadvantages such importation now is, or might be made; you will also ascertain how the necessary capital is procured, the situation of the artists and manufacturers, the mode of providing their goods, the usual rates of their labour; any particular advantages they may enjoy, their comparative affluence with respect to the cultivators of the land, their domestic usages, the nature of their sales and the regulations respecting

their markets; should it appear to you that any new art of manufacture might be introduced with advantage into any district you are to point out in what manner you think it may be accomplished.

“VII. Commerce; the quantity of goods exported and imported in each district; the manner of conducting sales especially at fairs and markets; the regulation of money, weights and measures; the nature of the conveyance of goods by land and water, and the means by which this may be facilitated, especially by making or repairing roads.

“In addition to the foregoing objects on inquiry, you will take every opportunity of forwarding to the Company’s Botanical Garden at this Presidency, whatever useful or rare and curious plants and seeds you may be enabled to acquire in the progress of your researches, with such observations as may be necessary for their culture”.

Dr. Francis Buchanan left the country before he could take up any district of Bangladesh other than Rangpur and Dinajpur. Thus the first Gazetteer written during the British period was the Gazetteer of Rangpur and Dinajpur.

In 1815, Walter Hamilton wrote the East India Gazetteer of ‘British possessions, provinces, cities, towns, districts, fortresses, harbours, and lakes in Indo-Pakistan and Eastern Archipelago’.

Next Edeard Thornton published his *Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the Viceroy of India*. Dr. Taylor’s *Topography of Dacca* (1840) was another contribution to the Gazetteer literature. In 1863 Major J. L. Sherwill wrote *Geographical and Statistical Account of Dinajpur district*. Its typescript is preserved in the office library of the Director of Land Records, Bangladesh and Manuscript in Records Room of Dinajpur.

The Government issued a publication known as *History and Statistics of the Dacca Division* in 1868.

In 1868 Colonel Gastrell wrote *Geographical and Statistical Report of the districts of Jessore, Faridpur and Bakarganj*; Mr. Sutherland wrote *Principal Heads of the History and Statistics of the Dacca Division* in the same year. Lewin (Captain T.H. Lewin) published *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein* in 1869. In 1870 Mr. T. Westland published *The Report on the District of Jessore, its Antiquity, History and Commerce*.

W.W. Hunter's *Statistical Accounts* of the districts of Sylhet, Noakhali, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Comilla, Mymensingh, Dacca, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Fabna, Nadia, Jessore, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Bogra and Dinajpur came out in 1871. Hamidullah Khan's *Tarikh Hamidi* in Persian (1871) also appeared then. Mr. Glazier wrote his *Report on Rangpur* in 1873.

Sindh Gazetteer (for districts) in Khairpur State and Hyderabad division) which should be treated as Provincial Gazetteer was first drafted by Mr. A. W. Hughes. It was revised and published by Mr. E. H. Aitken, the author of "Tribes On My Frontier" and "Behind the Bungalow".

In 1876 Mr. H. Beveridge published *the District of Bakarganj, its History and Statistics*. Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India* was later published in 1885.

The District Gazetteer of Shahpur (Panjab) was first drafted by Sir William Davies which was revised and rewritten by Sir James Wilson in 1897. Later the Government of the Panjab undertook the writing of the Panjab District Gazetteers and Mr. M. S. Liegh, Settlement Officer, published the same in 1917.

Mr. Sachidananda Mukherji published the *Survey and Settlement Report of Kalkini (Faridpur)* in 1893 and Mr. Kali Sankar Sen in the same year published similar report on Sarail (Comilla). In 1896 Mr. P. M. Basu published the *Survey and Settlement Report of Dakhin Shahbazpur (Bakarganj)*. In 1898 Mr. Pyari Mohan Basu published similar report on Thushakhali (Bakarganj). Mr. S. C. De wrote similar report on Jaipurhat (Bogra) in 1899.

A. C. Chaudhuri's *Srihatter Itibritta* (in two vols.) was published in 1317 B.S., M. M. Das Gupta's *Srihatter Itihas* in 1897, Taraknath Das' *Chattagramer Itibritta*, and S. C. Mitra's *Jessore-Khulnar Itihas* (in two vols.) in 1329 B.S., and Bradley Birts' "*The Romance of an Eastern Capital*" in 1900. Mr. C. G. Allen published the *Survey and Settlement Report of Chittagong* in 1900. It was followed by similar report from Basudeb Roy and Kali Shankar Sen in 1904 in respect of Dacca, Faridpur and Bakarganj districts. In 1906 Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutta published *A Survey and Settlement Report of Patikara (Tippera)*. The writing of Baluchistan District Gazetteer series was undertaken by Mr. R. Hughes Buller (I.C.S.) in 1906 and his District Gazetteers on 'Bolan Pass and Nuskhi', 'Bolan and Chagai' were published in 1906, 'Quetta and Pshin' in 1907. The Panjab Government undertook the writing of District Gazetteers in the beginning of the twentieth century and published the series from

1904 (Jhelum by Mr. W. S. Talbot), Attock (1909), Jhang (1910), Shahpur (1917), Multan (1927), etc. North-West Frontier Province District Gazetteer series was published from 1907. Similarly the Panjab States Gazetteers series came out in 1908 (Bahawalpur). Allen's *District Gazetteers of Dacca* came out in 1911, K. Mazumdar's *Maimensingher Itihas* in 1906, R. R. Shaha's *Pabna Jelar Itihas* in 1906, Abdur Rahman Taish's *Tawarikh Dhaka* in 1909, Jogendra Nath's *Bikrampur Bibaran* in 1909, Mr. Jatindra Kumar Roy's *History of Dacca District* (in Bengali) in 1912 and P.C. Sen's *Bagurar Itihas* in 1912. Then appeared L. S. S. O'Malley's *District Gazetteer of Khulna* (1908) and *Chittagong* (1908). The District Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts written by R. H. Hutchinson, was published in 1909. Thereafter J. N. Gupta wrote his *District Gazetteer of Bogra* (1910) and J. S. Webster of *Tippera* (1910) and *Noakhali* (1911), J. A. Vas wrote of Rangpur (1911), Mr. Hutchinson first wrote *An Account of Chittagong Hill Tracts* and some time thereafter followed it by his *District Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts*. F. W. Strong wrote *Dinajpur District Gazetteer* (1912) and L. S. S. O'Malley wrote on Jessore (1912). Thereafter J. C. Jack wrote *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement of Faridpur* in 1916. The District Gazetteers of Rajshahi, Mymensingh and Bakarganj were published in 1916, 1917 and 1918 respectively. J. N. Gupta wrote a Note on Rangpur in 1918, W. H. Thompson on Noakhali and Tipperah in 1920 and W. H. Nelson wrote his Report on Rajshahi in 1922. In 1922 Mr. C. C. B. Stevens wrote a detailed description of Chittagong Hill Tracts in the form of notes. The Manuscript is preserved in the Office Library of the Deputy Commissioner, the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The District Gazetteers of Pabna and Faridpur were published in 1923 and 1925 respectively. *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Report of Chittagong Hill Tracts* was written in 1926. Typoscript copies exist in the Library of the Director of Land Records, Bagladesh.

Mr. A. C. Hartley published *Final Survey and Settlement Report of Rangpur* district in 1940 and Mr. F. O. Bell of Dinajpur in 1942. In 1942 Mr. R. W. Bastin wrote Survey and Settlement Report of five thanas (Excluded Area) of Mymensingh (published in 1954). In 1946 Mr. Promod Ranjan Das Gupta wrote *Faridpur Revisional Settlement Report* (published in 1954).

The list may be winded up with the following publications which came out after Independence (1947): *Dacca* by Dr. A.H. Dani (1949), *Chittagonger Itihas* by Mr. Mahbubul Alam, *Glimpses of Old Dhaka* by Mr. S. M. Taifur (1952), *History of Chittagong*

by Mr. Ahmadul Huq (1955), *Final Survey and Settlement Report of Bakarganj* by Mr. Motaharul Huq (1957). In 1961 Messrs. A. Rashid and H. H. Nomani published District Census Reports of the seventeen districts of Bangladesh in seventeen volumes in imitation of District Gazetteers and brought the statistics upto-date. *History of Chittagong* and *Hazarat Shah Jalal or Sylheter Itihas* by Mr. S. Murtaza Ali (published in 1964 and 1965 respectively), *Dinajpurer Rajnaitik Itihas* by Mr. Mehrab Ali, *Dinajpurer Itihas* by Mr. Syed Mosharraf Hossain (1965), *Final Survey and Settlement Report of Sylhet* by Mr. Abul Khair Ahmad Khan and Mr. Nizamuddin Ahmed (1966) are some recent publications.

S. N. H. RIZVI,
(Ex-General Editor.)

XIX

CONTENTS

	PAGES.
FOREWORD	i
PREFACE	iii
GAZETTEER—A RETROSPECT	ix
CONTENTS	xix
CHAPTER I: PHYSICAL ASPECTS	1
<p>Origin of name; Boundary; Scenery—1; The Hills; Northern hills; Hills, south of Karnafuli—3; Geology—4; Soil; Classification of soil—5; Crops—6; Rivers: the Karnafuli; Tributaries of the Karnafuli—7; The Feni; The Sangu; The Matamuhuri; Lakes, artificial water-courses; The Rain-kyhong kine lake; The Bogakine lake—8; Drainage and river valleys; Mineral resources; Sand stone; Traces of gas and coal; Traces of lime stone—9; Salt-licks; Flora; Trees—10; Weeds; Canes; Bamboo species—11; Fauna: Mammals; Other mammals include; Birds—13; Reptiles and amphibians—15; Fishes—16; Climate; Rain fall—17; Monthly rainfall (table)—18; Average temperature (table)—19; Natural calamities—earth- quakes; Earth quake of 1762; Earthquake of 1869 to 1900 and 1897; Earthquake of 1950; Earthquake of 1955; Cyclones; Cyclone of 1876; Cyclone of 1895 and 1897—20; Cyclone of 1960; Cyclones of 1963; Floods; Floods of 1967—21; Famine—22; Scarcity. Local Scarcity at Chengri Valley in 1891; Scarcity of 1905—23.</p>	
CHAPTER II: HISTORY	25
<p>A bone of contention between Hill Tripura and Arakan; Conquest by Bengal Sultans; The region, a disputed possession—25; Ilyas Shahi and Husain Shahi rulers; contest between rulers of Tripura and Arakan; Sher Shah; Bijaya Manikya—26; Ralph Fitch; Raids of Arakanese Kings; The Portuguese Pirates; The Mughls—27; Mughal conquest; Under the East India Company; Revolt of Rona Khan—28; Troubles from Kukis; Arakanese tribes came to Hill Tracts; Hill Tracts constituted a District; Appointment of Superintendent; Designation of Deputy Commissioner from 1867—29; Tribal Raids—30; Changes in Administration and designation of administrator; Establishment of Pakistan; A short history of the Chakmas—32; The Chakma Raj Family; Rulers of Kalapanagar; Rulers of Champakanagar—33; The Chakma Kings in Barma; The Chakma Kings in Arakan; Relation with the Muslims—34; Relation with the British; Kalindi Rane—35; A short history of the Mughls—36; The Mugh Raja or Chief; The Bohmong Raja or Chief—37.</p>	
CHAPTER III: PEOPLE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE	39
<p>Population; Total population and variation from 1901-1961 (table); Urban and Rural Population—39; Density; General Routine of the people—40; Dancing and Music—41; Migration; Compensation—42; I. Kuki group: Tounghtha or Ancient tribe; II. Tipra Group: Khyoungtha Domiciled tribes; Chakmas—44; Chakma women; House—45; Marriage customs—46; Birth rites—47; Death rites—48; Ornaments—49; Mughls (Marma); personal traits—50; Morals—51; Religion; Marriage—52; Law of Inheritance; Death rites—55; Tipras; Marriages; Divorce; Succession—57; Dress; Ornaments; Death rites; Religious ceremonies; Superstitions—58; Cow killing ceremony—60; Mros (Mrus); Septs; Physical features; Marriage—61; Religion—62; Kumis (Khamis); Derivation; Locality; Village; Death rites—63; Kukis—64; Dress; Morals—65; Ornaments—66; Marriage; Birth; The Chief and his powers—67; Sancturuy; Slavery; Divorce; Succession; Nomadic nature—68; Religion; Kukis' conception of creation; The Lushais—69; Christianity; Social customs; Marriage—70; Dance and Music; Banjogis and Pakhos (Lais); Physical characteristics—71; Dress; Religion—72; Oths; Death rites—73; Legend of the creation; The Khyangs (Khayangs)—74; Religion; Death rites; Dress; Christian Mission—75; Amusements; Tribes in modern times—77.</p>	

CHAPTER IV: AGRICULTURE AND LIVE-STOCK ..

79

Introduction; Implements for cultivation—79; Cereals; Green crops, fibres, Miscellaneous crops; Jhum cultivation—80; The modus operandi of jhum cultivation—81; The state of activity of jhum cultivation; Plough cultivation—82; Inclination to plough cultivation and the conditions offered by the Government in 1875—83; Difficulties faced by the hillman in practising the plough cultivation; Lewin recorded in 1866—84; Main crops of flat land; Rabi crops—85; Total acreage under each crop in different years in the district (table)—86; Production of crops in tons in different years (table)—87; The effect of the Kaptai Project on Agriculture—88; Soil Conservation; Soil Conservation Project at Ramgarh; Pilot Orchard Project; Agricultural Farms; Seed multiplication and nurseries—89; Livestock; Recent studies; Sericulture; Plantation agriculture—90; Production of citrus fruits; Irrigation—91; Fisheries; Fishing in the Karnafuli Reservoir—92; Species of fish reared in the reservoir; Licence of the Fisherman; Annual landing—93; Fisheries Development Corporation; Training of fishermen; Transportation and marketing—94.

CHAPTER V: FORESTS

97

Situation; Configuration of the ground—97; Rivers; Rocks and Soils; Rocks—98; Soils; Climate; Distribution of the Forest and area; Particulars of Forests—99; Brief description of areas Kassalong; Rainkhyong Reserve; Kaptai Reserve—100; Sangu Reserve Forest; Matamuhuri Reserve Forest; The composition of the crop; Types of forests—101; Evergreen Forests: (i) Tropical wet-evergreen forest; (ii) Tropical mixed evergreen forests—102; Deciduous forests; Tropical moist deciduous riverine forests; Open deciduous; Bamboo brakes—103; Savannahs; Destructive Agents of the Forests: Human Agency; Wild Animals as destructive agent—104; Plants as destructive agent; Insects; How the forests are worked—105; Teak plantation; Rubber plantation; The system of raising plantation—106; History of past management—107; General objects of Management—109; Special Attraction of Chittagong Hill Tracts; Utilisation of Forest produces, markets and line of export—110; Commercially important produces; Minor forest produces; Methods of disposal of forest produces; Royalty system—111; Auction system; Departmental Extraction; Average Outturn of forest Produces (table)—112; Erosion and Soil Conservation—113.

CHAPTER VI: ECONOMIC CONDITION ..

115

Increase of population and its pressure on land; Predominantly agrarian economy: A subsistence economy; Change towards a commercial economy—115; Economic condition in the 19th century; Economic condition in the early part of the 20th century—116; Economic condition in the 1950's; Income and expenditure of Jhum Family in the past—118; Economic condition of the plough cultivator—119; Economic condition according to the Soil and Land Use Survey of 1964-66; Pattern of living of the hillmen; Dwelling house—120; Furniture and Utensils; Food; Dress—121; Ornaments; Economic Status of Population (1961). Agricultural labour force and its division; Non-agricultural labour force; Subsidiary occupations; Professional and Technical—122; Administrative, clerical and office; Shopkeepers and Sales workers; Forestry and Fishing occupation; Transport occupations; Food, drink and Tobacco processing occupation; Manufacturing workers and craftsmen, textile—123; Manufacturing, craftsmen workers and non-textile; Building and Construction occupations; Service workers; Agricultural holding and size—124; Average size of agricultural family and the economic status of each family; Jhum cultivation; The economic aspect of Jhum cultivation—125; Plough cultivation; The impact of Karnafuly Hydel Project on the Economy; Rehabilitation and Compensation—126; Plantation programme; Supplementary Rehabilitation scheme; Socio-economic changes; Indebtedness of the hillmen in the 19th century—127; Indebtedness in the early 20th century—128; Indebtedness in 1960—130; Institutional Credit; Co-operative Societies—132; Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan;

Government Loans; Early *Jhum* rent—133; *Jhum* rent during the later part of the 19th century; Assessment of *Jhum* rent and its rate in 1915—134; Rate of *Jhum* rent after independence; Rent for land under plough cultivation—135; Legislation of 1950; Land tenure at present; Present rate of rent for different classes of land under plough cultivation; Rate of rent for land in the Bazar Fund area—136; Other types of rent; Prices: Prices during later part of the 19th century; Price in the early 20th century—137; Price in 1920; Prices in 1930; Prices in 1950; Prices in 1965-66; Wages; Wages during the 19th century—138; Wages during the early part of the 20th century; Wages after Independence—139.

CHAPETR VII: COMMUNICATION

141

Old-time roads—141; Recent road improvements; Present road position—142; Bus service—143; Vehicles; Elephants as conveyances; Rest House, Dak-bungalow, etc.—144; Waterways; Launch services—147; Telephones; Post office—148.

CHAPTER VIII: INDUSTRIES, TRADE AND COMMERCE

149

A. Industries.

Introduction; Time-honoured manufactures; Process in the manufacture of cloth—149; Weaving; Dyeing: Blue of black dye—150; Red dye; Yellow and green dyes; Drink—151; Spirit; The Hill-knife—152; Axe-head; Guns; Ammunition; Musical instrument—153; Boats; Cane and bamboo products; Large Scale Industries; Karnafuli Multipurpose Projects—154; The Karnafuli Paper Mills Ltd.—155; Karnafuli Reyen and Chemical Ltd.; Forest Industries; (a) Mechanical logging—156; (b) Saw mill; (c) Rubber Plantation and Processing; (d) Other Industries; Small Scale Industries—157; Cottage Industries—159.

B. Trade and Commerce.

Trade and Commerce in 19th century—160; Trade and Commerce in the early 20th century—163; Trade and Commerce after independence—165; Market and Business Centres—166; Indebtedness and rural credit—171; Present Banking and Financial Institutions; Weights and measures—173.

CHAPTER IX: PUBLIC HEALTH

175

Public health in early times; Medical facilities in early time—175; Vital statistics—176; Diseases common to the district: Malaria—177; Cholera—178; Small Pox; Dysentery and Diarrhoea; Joint pains; Tuberculosis—179; T.B. Clinic; Kala-azar; Leprosy; Leprosy Home; Infant deaths; Maternal deaths—180; Hospitals; Sadar Hospital; Police Hospital; Christian Hospital—181; Barkhal Hospital; Ramghar Sadar Hospital; Mohalchari Hospital; Dighinala Hospital—182; Bandarban Subdivisional Hospital; Dispensaries; Rural Health Centres—183; School Hygiene; Water supply in rural areas; Water supply in urban areas; Sanitation—184; Rural Sanitation; Urban Sanitation—185.

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

187

Introduction; Background; Rangamati Government School—187; Language; Literacy; Educational level—188; Institutions at present; Administration; Primary Stage—189; Secondary Stage—191; Middle English School and Junior High School; High School—192; The Karnafulli High School—193; Development work; Rangamati College; Vocational and Technical Education; Carpentry and Weaving—194; Pak-Swedish Institute and Technology; Type-writing; Forquania Madrassah and Muslim Education—195; Pali Tois; Teachers Training; Physical Education; Agricultural Education; Introduction of Religious Education for Muslims in Missionary Schools; Libraries—196; Museum; Boy Scouts and Girl Guides—197.

APPENDIX—Chronology of the Growth of Education in Chittagong Hill Tracts (1860-1970)—199.

199

CHAPTER XI: LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

201

Introduction; population by mother tongues; Bilingualism—201; Education and official language; Number of literates; Language by literacy—202; Language of the Chakmas; Chakma alphabet—203; Influence of Islamic language—206; specimen of Chakma language—207; Chakma literature; Shibcharan; The story of Radhamon and Dhanpati—211; Legend of Jamai Maruni—214; Specimen of Chakma folklore—215; Specimen of Chakma love songs; Specimen of the Chakma marriage songs—217; Specimen of Chakma lullabies; Written books in Chakma Language; Nilkamal Das—218; Abdul Hakim; Seventeen religious books of the Chakmas; English writings; Languages of the Mugh Tribe—219; Literature; Kapayas—220; Proverb; The Lushai Language—221; Lushai letters or sounds—222; Number—224; Gender; Case—225; Nominative; Objective; Possessive; Dative; Locative—226; Causative; Vocative; Adjective; Numerals; Negation; Literature—227; Language of the Kuki tribe; Written Character; The Khami Language—229; Khami grammar; Pankho and Bunjogee dialects; Grammar—230; Specimen of Pankho and Bunjogee dialects; Language of the Tipara tribe—231; Language of the Mroongs; Language of the Sendus; Languages of other tribes; Colonel Sir A. Phayre; Capt. T.H. Lewin—232; Hutchinson; Miss June Niblett; Broja Nath Saha; S.R. Chandra Baduya; Satish Chandra Ghose; Lucien Burnot Denise Burnot; Pierre Bessaignet; Abdus Sattar; Journal published from the Chittagong Hill Tracts—233.

CHAPTER XII: LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

239

Introduction; Revenue circles and their Rajas—239; Collection of Revenue and Capitation tax—240; The Revenue collecting agents the Ahun, Khejas and Roaja—241; Appointment of headman; Act XXII of 1869—242; Assessment—243; Revision of jhum revenue; Ptough revenue and rules—244; Plough rules; Forest Revenue—245; Grass Revenue; Minor Sources of Revenue; Revenue (1967-68)—246.

CHAPTER XIII: GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

251

Previously it was part of Chittagong; Chittagong Hill Tracts separated from Chittagong district by Act XXII of 1860; First Headquarters at Chandraghona; Headquarters transferred to Rangamati—251; Subdivisional system corresponding to circles of Chiefs; Circles and mouzas—252; Functions of the Circle Chiefs; Functions of the Dewans; Rules of succession to Headship—253; Rules of Provincial Government of June 30, 1867; Chiefs and Headmen; their powers—255; Criminal and Civil administration; Amendment Rules of 1930; Chittagong Hill Tracts ceased to be tribal area since January 10, 1964; Present administration—256; Civil Justice—258; Criminal Justice—260; Crimes—261; Non-judicial Stamps; Rehabilitation; Settlement Department—262; Compensation; Police—263; Anti-Corruption—264; Registration—265; Education; Civil Defence; District Public Relations Officer—266; Food Department; Communication and Buildings Department—267; Provincial Excise; Chief Medical Officer—268; Civil Surgeon; Police Hospital; T.B. Clinic; Public Health Engineering; Fire Service; Live Stock—269; Agriculture; Agriculture Marketing; Fisheries—270; East Pakistan Fisheries Development Corporation; Forest: North Division; South Division—271; Jhum Control Division; The Forest Industrial Development Corporation—272; Co-operative Societies; The East Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority—273; The Electric Supply Rangamati (EPWAPDA); District Council—274; Election office; Post office; The Telephone Exchange (Rangamati) Telegraph—275; Sub-Regional Tourist Bureau, Kaptai; The Swedish-Pakistan Institute of Technology (SPIT); Kaptai—276; The Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan, Rangamati—277.

CHAPTER XIV: LOCAL GOVERNMENT

280

History of Local Government; District Council; Income and Expenditure of the District Council—279; Thana and Union Council; Bazar Fund Committee—280; Town Committee—281.

CHAPTER XV: PLACES OF INTEREST

283

Ajodhya Bazar; Alikadam; Alikhyong; Baga Lake—283; Bandarban—284; Barkal Bazar; Chandraghona—285; Chimbuk—286; Dighinala; Guimara; Kapati—287; Kasallong rehabilitation area—288; Khagrachhari; Lama; Langadu—289; Mahalchhari Bazar; Mainimukh; Manikchhari; Naikhongchhari; Nainyachhari Bazar; Pablakhali—290; Panchhari; Raikhyong Bazar; Rangarh; Rangamati—291; Ramu—294; Subalong Bazar—295.

APPENDIX—District Officers of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

297

BIBLIOGRAPHY

299

INDEX

305

List of illustrations and maps.

Serial No.	PAGE.
1 A view of Chandraghona Paper Mills	Facing Foreword.
2 A lake view at Rangamati	I
3 A "Gail", Chittagong Hill Tracts	13
4 A Chakma woman	25
5 Pankhomen and Women in festive dress	39
6 A Chakma dance	45
7 A Mugh dance	50
8 A man of Tipra tribe having all the handmade clothes	57
9 A Lushai woman in front of her house	69
10 A village scene of the Murang tribe	79
11 Some people of the Murang tribe	97
12 A dwelling house of the Mugh tribe	115
13 A young man of the Murang tribe	141
14 The Kaptai Project	149
15 The Karnafuli Multi-purpose Project	153
16 Inside view of the Chandraghona Paper Mills	155
17 The Chandraghona Rayon Complex	157
18 Karnafuli Hydro-electric Station	161
19 A Mugh Woman from Karbaripara	175
20 The Rangamati Government College	187
21 A Prayer place of the Murang tribe	201
22 A boy and a girl of the Tipra tribe	233
23 A dancing party of the Murang tribe	239
24 A dancing party of the Bawn tribe	251
25 Tipra males	279
26 Interior view of a house of the Murang tribe	283
27 Two girls of the Bawen tribe of Ruma	294
28 Map of the Chittagong Hill Tracts	At the end.



A Lake View at Rangamati, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL ASPECTS

The hill and forest areas of the old Chittagong district were separated from the Chittagong district in the year 1860. The newly created district was named 'the Chittagong Hill Tracts'.

Origin of name.

Lying outstretched like some mighty sprawling giant, enclosed in a heavy shawl of luxuriant undergrowth and verdant trees interlocked and trapped by gigantic throngs of climbing creepers the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts spreads itself from the borders of Burma and the far off Lushai Hills (Mizo Hills) to the boundaries of the Tripura state in India and those of Chittagong district. It is situated between 21°25' and 23°45' north latitude, and between 91°45' and 92°50' east longitude. It comprises a total area of 5,093 square miles and has a total population of 3,85,079 according to the Census of 1961.

Boundary.

The district is divided into four valleys formed by the Feni, Karnafuli, Sangu, and Matamuhuri rivers and their tributaries and is marked out by chains of hills running from the south in a north-westerly direction. The Sangu and Matamuhuri rivers until they enter the plains, run parallel to the ranges, and form two river-valleys. The Karnafuli and the Feni run transversely across the main lines of the hills, and the valleys here are formed by the large tributaries of the Karnafuli entering the river at right angles to its course.

Scenery.

The general aspect of the district as described by a Deputy Commissioner is "that of a tangled mass of hill, ravine and cliff covered with dense trees, bush and creeper jungle. The intervals between the smaller hill-ranges are filled up with a mass of jungle, low hills, small water-courses, and swamps of all sizes and description, and these are so erratic in their configuration as to render any uniform description impossible..... Of wild barren scenery the district possesses little or none; but from the summits of the main ranges the view of the apparently boundless sea of forest is grand in the extreme. Viewed from these points, the lower jungle almost assumes the appearance of level green plains, while in reality it is one of the most difficult countries to pass through that can be imagined."

Along the valleys and courses of the chief rivers the scenery is of a different character and Captain Lewin, in his work on the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, describes it in the following terms:

The scenery along the course of the Karnafuli and its tributaries is for the most part dull and uninteresting, the river flowing

between high banks of earth, covered either with tall elephant grass or dense jungle, which effectually prevents any view being obtained of the surrounding country. At one place only on the Karnafuli, shortly after reaching the small police station of Rangamati, the character of the scenery changes from its usual dull monotony of reaches of still water and walls of dark-green verdure, to a scene of marvellous beauty. Dark cliffs of a brown vitreous rock, patched and mottled with lichens and mosses of various colours, tower up on either hand; while occasionally, on the right or left, shoots back a dark gorge of impenetrable jungle. At this place the river runs with great rapidity through a rocky defile, and at some seasons of the year it is difficult for boats to make head against the strength of current.

There are spots of exquisite scenery along one of the affluents of the Matamuhuri river. Captain Lewin thus described the scenery on the Twine Khyong, a tributary of this river:

†“The stream ran briskly in a narrow pebbly bed between banks that rose nearly perpendicularly, and so high that the sun only came down to us by glints, here and there. Enormous tree ferns hung over our heads, some fifty feet up, while the straight stems of the *garjan* tree shot up without a branch, like white pillars in a temple; plantains, with their broad drooping fronds of transparent emerald, broke at intervals the dark green wall of jungle that towered up in the background and from some gnarled old forest giant here and there the long curving creepers threw across the stream a bridge of nature's own making. Sometimes we came upon a recess in the bank of verdure which rose on either hand; and there the tinkling of cascade would be heard behind the veil; and its entry into the stream being marked by a great grey heap of rounded rocks and boulders, topp'd and tossed about in a way that showed with what a sweep the water came down in the rains. Scarlet dragon flies and butterflies of purple, gold, and azure flitted like jewels across our path; while silvery fish, streaked with dark-blue bands flew up the stream before us, like flashes of light, as we poled along”.

The highest hills in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are Keokradong Hill 4,034 ft. high to the east of the district and Pyramid Hill, 3,017 ft. high in the same quarter.

†Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the dwellers therein by Capt. H.T. Lewin.

All the hill ranges of the Hill Tracts are almost hogback ridges. They rise steeply, thus looking far more impressive than their height would imply, and extend in long narrow ridges, whose tops are barely 100 ft. wide. Most of the ranges have scarps in the west, with cliffs and waterfalls. They form sharp water partings and have a trellis drainage system. In all these respects they are different from the low rounded foot-hills to the west. The Hills.

Four ranges with an elevation of over a thousand feet strike in a north-south direction in the northern part of the Hill Tracts District. The western-most, the Phoromain Range reaches, 1,518 ft. at Phoromain, 1,429 ft. at Rampahar and 1,367 ft. at Bhangamura. This range is a continuation of the hill complex south-east of Ramgarh. The next range eastwards is the Dolajeri. Its highest peak is Langtraï (1,405 ft.). On the eastern side of this range are several waterfalls. Two of the highest have falls of 196 and 130 feet. Further east, across the Maini valley, is the Bhuachari Range, which rises to 2,003 ft. at Changpal peak. The eastern-most, within Pakistan is the Chipui Lungsir range (also known as the Barkal Range). It is bounded on the east by the Tuilianpui river. Much of this range also is in India. Its highest peaks, from north to south, are Khantlang (2,240 ft.), Thangnang (2,409 ft.), Lungliang (2,266 ft.), Chipui (1,575 ft.), Bara Taung (1,467 ft.), and Barkal (1,875 ft.). This range divides into two, forty miles north of Barkal, one arm reaching the Karnafuli river at Barkal, while the other passes into the Indian territory (Mizo Hills). Northern hills.

South of the Karnafuli river, there are seven main mountain ranges within East Pakistan. The Muranja range rises out of the Chunoti Hills, three miles east of Harbang, and strikes in a south easterly direction. Its well-known peaks are Muranja, (1,644 ft.), Nashpo Taung (1,920 ft.), and Basi Taung (2,176 ft.). This range can be clearly seen from Cox's Bazar. South of it, and somewhat parallel to it, is Wayla range, which reaches 1,356 ft. at Wayla Taung. Most of this range is in Burma. East of Muranja range and also roughly parallel to it are the Tyambang, Batimain and Peitai ranges. The Tyambang or Chimbuk range rises south of the Sangu river and continues into Burma. Its main peak are Lu'aing (2,303 ft.), Thainkhiang (2,930 ft.), Kro (2,846 ft.), Rungrang (2,784 ft.) and Tindu (2,944 ft.). On a branch of the Lu'aing khal, near Lu'aing peak, there is a waterfall of 350 ft. in height. Near Uparampara further south, there is another high waterfall, with a drop of 150 ft.. These southern ranges have a good number of waterfalls of up to 70' ft. height. Hills, south of Karnafuli.

range is a continuation of the low Mara Taung range north of the Karnafuli. It reaches a height of 1,725 ft. at Batitaung. The long narrow Sangu river valley is contained by these ranges. The Politai range is the southern continuation of the Phoromain. Its main peaks are Sitapahar (1,420 ft.), Ghilachari (1,565 ft.), Ramiu Taung (3,018 ft.), Politai (2,724 ft.), and Keokradang (2,960 ft.). Near Ramiu Taung, the Batimain range joins this range.

A little further south, the joint ranges merge with the Saichal Mowdok range which is the southward continuation of the Barkal range. The Saichal range is forked in the north; the western ridge is the Bilaisari range with Bilaisari peak (1,864 ft.), where the fork joins is Saichal peak (2,125 ft.). Further south, the main ridge falls partly within Burma. The high peaks within East Pakistan are Waibung (2,649 ft.), Rang Tlang (3,141 ft.), Mowdok Mual (3,292 ft.), which is on the border of East Pakistan and Burma, and Mowdok Tlang (2,968 ft.). These border hills have not been geologically surveyed. It is possible that the Maini series (cretaceous) of sandstone, dark shale and argillaceous limestone occurs here. Much of this area has not been visited by scientists and remains almost a *terra incognita* as far as its potentialities are concerned.†

Geology.

Sedimentary rocks consisting of sandstone, shale, siltstone and claystone and ranging in age from ear'y to late Miocene epoch are present in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are overlain by alluvium of recent age in the valleys. Rock out crops are mainly seen in the river channel cuttings and in the cliffs.

The chart below is giving a comprehensive and generalized sequence of rock types in the Chittagong Hill Tracts:

Age.	Formation.	Lithology.
Recent	... Alluvium ...	Stream-channel and flood plain deposits of unconsolidated clay, silt and sand.
Upper Miocene	... Dupi Tila ...	Coarse ferruginous sands, mottled sands, and clays, fossil wood.
Middle to Late Miocene.	... Tipam Sandstone	Yellowish-brown, medium to coarse grained ferruginous sandstone.

†EAST PAKISTAN. A Systematic regional geography and its development planning aspects by Harun-Er-Rashid.

Age.	Formation.	Lithology.
Middle Miocene ...	Surma Group	Grey, greyish brown sandstone, siltstone, shale and claystone.

Base not seen.

The rocks are folded, the axes are parallel and oriented NNW. The synclines are broad and form valleys. These are followed by tight anticlines which make the hill-ranges. Thus there is a close relationship between geological structure and physiography of the region.

The soils of the Hill Tracts were surveyed during 1964-65 by Soil. the Forestal Forestry and Engineering International Ltd., under the Canadian Colombo Plan. This survey was carried out on behalf of the East Pakistan Agricultural Development Corporation in order to prepare a comprehensive agricultural development programme for the district.

The hill soils are mainly yellowish brown to reddish brown loams which grade into broken shale or sandstone at a variable depth, usually between 1-4 feet. The soils are friable and full of holes made by the earthworms and termites, making them relatively resistant to erosion under the high rainfall of the area. Their main limitation for agriculture is their occurrence on every steep slopes which makes them generally unsuitable for arable crops under modern management. Over large areas, slopes are steeper than 40 per cent, which makes them difficult to manage even under tree crops. The soils are very strongly acidic and will require relatively heavy use of fertilizers for sustained crop production.

The valley soils are mainly acid loams and clays subject to seasonal flooding. They are used for rice cultivation.

Classification of soil.

The following particulars have been gleaned from the report of the Forestal Forestry and Engineering International Ltd. All lands in the Chittagong Hill Tracts have been categorised into five classes—A, B, C, C-D and D. The main determinants of quality and potential are slope and other terrain characteristics, the water holding capacity and fertility of soil.

The class B lands are almost entirely bumpy lands and may be brought under hill-slope cultivation. The class C lands consists mainly of bumpy lands, but of slightly inferior quality. Some of the lands may be utilised for hill-slope cultivation. 6,67,687 acres of bumpy lands, at present mostly idle are

available for farming. The class C-D lands contain areas of class C and D in units too small to be shown individually. The class D lands include steep slopes, of dissected topography and places of inferior soil. Extensive areas of class D and some areas of class C land are unsuitable for crop production and should be put under forest. 300 square miles (roughly 23,59,976 acres) of this area 77.0 per cent. has been mapped as class D, 15.5 per cent. as class C, 1.4 per cent. as class C-D, 2.9 per cent. as class B and 3.2 per cent. as class A. This means that almost three quarters of the total area of the non-reserved lands are available for afforestation.

Virtually all the class A lands and a large part of the class B lands are already under cultivation.

New agricultural settlement is taking place on class C and class D lands with preference to the former. The development programme involves the large scale establishment of permanent cultivation on sloping lands which will include plantation of fruit crops in a major scale. The erosion control measures recommended for hill slope development include the construction of terraces, afforestation, planting of cover crops and spreading of mulching materials.

Better agricultural lands are more extensive in the north than in the south. The area of Kaptai contains 72.8 per cent. of all class A lands and 89.0 per cent. of all class B land that is, mainly in the northern areas covering Chengri Valley, Maini Valley, Kassalong Rehabilitation Area, Rangarh and the better quality lands bordering on the reservoir.

In the south the better agricultural lands are few and limited, isolated from one another and are largely under cultivation. But most of these lands would again be thrown out of cultivation after reservoirs are created in the Sangu and Matamuhuri valleys. Over 50 varieties of crops are grown in the area.

Crops.

The crops which are being further cultivated and improved on a major scale immediately are bamboo, bananas, cashewnut, citrus, coffee, guava, ginger, jackfruit, kapok, lichi, mango, oil seeds, papaya, pineapple, rubber, turmeric and vegetables.

The second group comprises crops that are recommended for early intensive study and experiment. These crops include avocado, pear, castor oil, coconut, cotton, groundnuts, Manila hemp, oil palm, potato, tapioca, tobacco, tung oil, and cover and forage crops. Many of these crops are now being grown on a small scale in the Hill Tracts.

The third group comprises 23 crops that are recommended for further study and experimentation. They include bay tree, cape gooseberry, cardamom, cinnamon tree, cocoa, holly, jute, date palm, kola, mulberry, peach, pepper, plum, rouwolfia, roselle, sapodilla, sisal, straw berries, sugar cane, sunnhemp and tea.

The river Karnafuli known to the hill people as Kynsa Khyong derives its name from the Sanskrit "Karna" ear and "Fuli" flower, literally the Ear-flower or Earring. According to a local legend the daughter of a *Wazir* of Chittagong during the Mughal rule is credited with dropping her ear-ring into the river while out on a pleasure trip. The river rises in the hills to the north of Lungleh in the Lushai Hills and has a length of 170 miles. After a most tortuous course through the hills, the river emerges into the plains of Chittagong at Chandraghona, and, flowing past Chittagong, falls into the Bay of Bengal.

Rivers:
the Karnafuli.

The river winds in and out between lofty mountains covered with dense forest to the water's edge, then through precipitous rocky gorges of sandstone, over rapids and falls, with big deep pools here and there, its dark and silent waters teeming with every variety of fish. It enters the Chittagong Hill Tracts four miles below Demagiri, and the scenery becomes for the most part dull and uninteresting as it flows between steep and abrupt banks composed of shale, its sides covered with all tall elephant grass which effectively prevents any view being obtained of the surrounding country. At Barkal, the scene changes to one of great grandeur. High cliffs tower on the left bank; the river breaks up into channels flowing between forest covered islands, and then, opening out into a big pool, dashes down a long stretch of rapids, between huge boulders, the bubbling waves breaking through the rocks with the fitful roar of a surf-beat shore. The next point of interest is a gorge fourteen miles above Rangamati. Just before the river finally leaves the hills and debouches into the plains at Chandraghona the scenery is exceedingly pretty, and most refreshing to those who have been used to the dead level monotony of the scenery of East Pakistan.

The important tributaries of the Karnafuli are the Kaptai, Rainkhyong, Subhalong and Thega on the left, and the Chengri, Kassalong and Boro Harina on the right banks. Although these rivers are of considerable depth during the rains, the rapidity and violence of their currents and their sharp turns and whirling eddies, render them unnavigable by large craft, but a large trade is carried on, both up and downstream, during the rest of the year.

Tributaries of
the Karnafuli.

The Feni.

The Feni river, which forms the northern boundary of the Hill Tracts, leaves the district at Ramgarh, and during its course through the hills it is of little importance for purposes of navigation.

The Sangu.

The Sangu river is in the south of the district; the upper reaches are known to the Maghs as Sabok Khyong, and near Bandarban as Rigray Khyong, the name being given in honour of the class to which the Bohmong or ruling family belongs. In the plains it is known as Sangu which is a corruption of *Sankha* or a shell.

The Matamuhuri.

The Matamuhuri river, or Moree Khyong lies to the south of the Sangu. It is extremely shallow and of little importance.

Lakes, artificial water-courses.**The Rainkhyong Kine lake.**

A hill lake of great beauty, known as Rainkhyongkine was discovered by Lieutenant Gordon in 1875, Assistant Commissioner in charge of the Sangu subdivision. This lake is situated on the east side of the Ramakri Taung, about six miles south-east of Politye. It is one mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, and is fed by two small streams at its western end. The water is carried off from the lake by a large stream at the east end. The lake appears to be a favourite resort of the elephants living in the neighbouring forests, for "in their leisurely strolls round its edge they have trampled out everything except the trees, and so have converted a dense jungle into a cool open glade." The hill-men have a superstitious dread of venturing on this lake, and Lieutenant Gordon had great difficulty in inducing them to build a raft and accompany him across the water. "They told me all sort of dreadful legends of how some so hardy adventurer had tried to cross, and on reaching the centre had suddenly disappeared, and how a like fate befell those who went to search for their lost friends." The lake is well stocked with fish, and the water is said to be clear and good.

The Bogakine lake.

Another small lake is the Bogakine. In shape the Bogakine is a parallelogram and of such exactness that one could almost believe it was the work of human hands. It is situated to the east of the Police Post of Ruma on the Sangu river, and is at a considerable elevation and of great depth. A curious trait of this lake water is that although it is quite fit for drinking purposes, no fish can live in it nor is there any weed growth. The lake is much venerated by the hill people of the neighbourhood who yearly offer sacrifice to propitiate the spirit of the water.

The most important and largest lake in the district is the artificial lake of Kaptai built on account of the Kaptai Dam.

It has submerged formerly inhabited areas of more than 250 square miles.

The three major rivers, the Karnafuli, the Sangu and the Matamuhuri along with their tributaries, form the drainage of the district. The total catchment area of these rivers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is approximately 1,400 square miles. The valleys are generally flat floored.

Drainage and
river valleys.

The drainage of the Karnafuli river has been greatly affected by the building of the Kaptai Dam. An area of over 250 square miles of the Karnafuli river system has been converted into a lake, which later expanded into greater size to nearly 356 square miles. The level of water in the lake stands, on an average, 90 feet above sea level.*

Adequate information of the mineral resources of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is not available as geological surveys have not been completed.

Mineral
resources.

Large quantities of sandstone have been quarried from rock outcrops and cliffs, or collected as boulders from stream beds. They have been extensively used in surfacing roads in the building of Kaptai Dam and in protective works of Chittagong Port.

Sand stone.

The existence of gas consisting mainly of hydrocarbons, have been reported from various places. They are present mainly in the north-west and north-east parts of the district.

In old age both lignite and coal were found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and specimens were analysed in the office of the Superintendent of Geological Survey of India. The proportion of ash is, however, too large to hold out any prospect of profit. A specimen of brown coal gave, on analysis, 36.5 per cent. carbon, 38 per cent. volatile matter and 25.5 per cent. ash. One specimen of lignite analysed yielded 25.9 per cent. carbon, 35.8 per cent. volatile matter, and 38.3 per cent. ash. The streams where lignite have been found are the Sangu and the Matamuhuri in the Sangu subdivision, and the Feni and Chingri in the Sadar subdivision.

Traces of gas
and coal.

Limestone has been found in two places in the Hill Tracts, but on account of its inferior description its manufacture into lime has proved unprofitable. Sandstone exists in abundance, so also an exceedingly hard kind of blue rock; but it is not known whether either are fitted for building purposes.

Traces of lime
stone.

*For details of Kaptai Multipurpose Project, please see Chapter VIII: Industries, Trade and Commerce.

Salt-licks.

Salt-licks are found at many places in the hills; the best known are those at Bhangamura in the north, and Mowdong Klang in the east part of the district. At lat. $23^{\circ}28'$ and lat. $23^{\circ}17'$, from the Lungshem (Lushai for 'red-stone') range, two salt springs flow both of which are cold; and about lat. $23^{\circ}37'$, just under the surface there is the third. The Kukis utilise them as sources of local salt-supply, by boiling down the water in conical earthen pots. No metals are known to exist in the district.

Flora.

The general aspect of the topography of the district is a mass of hills, rivers and cliffs covered with dense bamboo breaks, tall trees and creeper jungles. The valleys are covered with thick virgin forest interspersed with small water courses and swamps of all sizes and descriptions. The main features of the vegetation is semi-evergreen (deciduous) to tropical evergreen, dominated by tall trees belonging to Dipterocarpaceae, Euphorbiaceae, Lauraceae, Leguminaceae and Rubiaceae. The natural vegetation, however, now exists in such areas as in the valleys of the Rainkhyong Reserved Forests in Bandarban subdivision. But in many other areas the forests and natural vegetation have been cleared and destroyed by the tribals for *jhum* cultivation and for their rehabilitation. In such forest clearings the flora now consists mainly of such persistent weeds as the sunngrass, *Assamlata* (*Eupatorium odoratum*), *Mikania scandens*, and tall grass species, in addition to few scattered deciduous trees and numerous shrubs which grow amidst the grasses and weeds.

Following is a list of important trees and other plants recorded for the district:

Trees.

Banderhola (*Daubanga sonneratioides* Buch-Ham), *Batna* (*Quercus* spp.), *Chalmugra* (*Taraktogenos Kurzii* King), *Chalta* (*Dillenia indica*), *Champa* (*Michelia champaca* Linn), *Chaplish* (*Artocarpus chaplasha* Roxb.) *Chikrassi* (*Chukrasia tubularis*), *Civit* (*Swintonia floribunda* Griff.), *Daki jam* (*Eugenia Grandis* Wt.), *Garjan* (*Dipterocarpus* spp.), *Gamari* (*Gmelina aborea* Linn.), *Jarul* (*Lagerstroemia speciosa*), *Kadam* (*Anthocephalus indicus* Miq.), *Kamdeb* (*Calophyllum* spp.), *Koroi* (*Albizia* spp.), *Mahogany* (*Swietenia macrophylla*), *Madanmasto* (*Dehaasia Kurzii*), *Negeswar* (*Mesua ferrea* Linn.), *Narikeli* (*Sterculia alata* Rixb), *Jam* (*Eugenia* spp.) *Pitali* (*Trewia nudiflora* Linn), *Pitraj* (*Moora* spp., *Dysoxylum* spp.), *Tali* (*Dischopsis polyantha* Benth), *Toon* (*Toona ciliata*), *Teak* (*Tectona grandis* Linn.f.), *Uriam* (*Mangifera longipes*), *Arjun* (*Terminalia arjuna*), *Arsol* (*Vitex* spp.), *Kat Badam* (*Terminalia Catappa* Linn.), *Bohal*

(*Cordia Myxa* Linn), *Bahera* (*Terminalia bellerica* Roxb.), *Bandor lotya* (*Cassia nodosa* Ham.), *Barta* (*Artocarpus Lakoocha* Roxb.), *Boilam* (*Anisoptera glabra* Kurz), *Dakrum* (*Stephegyne diversifolia* Hook. f.), *Dharmar* (*Stereospermum chelonoides* DC.), *Gundroi* (*Cinnamomum cecidodaphne* Meissn), *Gulgutya* (*Bursera serrata* Colebr), *Hansak* (*Xanthophyllum flavescens* Roxb. *virens* Roxb), *Hargaza* (*Dillenia Pentagyna* Roxb.), *Hatipoila* (*Pterospermum acerifolium* Willd), *Haritaki* (*Terminalia chebula* Retz.; *T. citrina* Roxb.), *Jalpai* (*Elaocarpus robustus*), *Jhau* (*Casuarina equisetifolia* Forest), *Jhumka bhadi*, (*Engelhardtia spicata* Bl.), *Jiul Bhadi* (*Lanea grandis*) *Jungur Jya* (*Derris robusta* Bth), *Kalaboil* (*Sapium baccatum* Roxb), *Kalda* (*Miliusa velutina* Hook f. and Th.), *Kanak* (*Schima Wallichii* Choisy), *Kanta Kori* (*Anogeissus lanceolata*), *Carellia lucida* (Roxb.) *Kon* (*Adina sessilifolia* Hook. f.), *Low bhadi* (*Bischofia Javanica* Blume), *Minjiri* (*Cassia siamea* Lamk.), *Pacca saj* (*Terminalia crenulata* Roth), *Panisaj* (*Terminalia muricarpa* Heurck and Muell. arg), *Phata Kaarola* (*Aporosa Roxburghii* Baill), *Ranghat* (*Ranghat cordifolia* Hook. f.), *Shaugan* (*Sterculia scaphiger wall*), *Shonalu* (*Cassia Fistula* Linn), *Sherandong* (*Lophopetalum fimbriatum* weight.), *Silbhadi* (*Garuga pinnata* Roxb.), *Simul* (*Salmalia malabarica*), *Tejbahal* (*cinnamomum* spp.), *Telsur* (*Hopea odorata* Roxb.), *Udal* (*Sterculia colorata* Roxb; *S. Villosa* Roxb);

Assamlata (*Eupatorium odoratum*), *Mikania Scandens*, *Sunn Weeds.*
grass (*Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill.), *Khagra* (*Saccharum spontaneum*).

Gallak (*Calamus flagellum* Griff.), *Kerak* (*Calamus latifolius* Roxb.) *Maricha*, *Jaithneth* (*Calamus tenuis* Roxb.). *Bandaris* *Kiris* (*Calamus* sp.)

Commercial species :

Bamboo species

Kaliserri—*Teinospachyum dullooa* Gamble
Oxytenanthera auriculata Kurz.

Mitenga—*Bambusa Tulda* Roxb

Muli—*Melocanna bambusoides* Trin.

Orah—*Dendrocalamus longispathus* Kurz.

Non-commercial species—

Kali—*Oxytenanthera nigrocillata* Munro.

Bariala—*Bambusa vulgaris* schrad.

Bazali—*Teinostachyum Griffithii* Munro.

In addition to the above list of names, recent investigation has revealed the presence of other plants, mostly from Bandarban-Ruma and Rainkhyong valley and lake areas of the district. Thus, Khan and Banu [Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Pak., Vol 14(2) : 217-222] have recorded the following Monocot plants :

Potamogeton crispus Linn; *Najas minor* All; *Cois lachrym-jobi*. Linn. var. *ma-yuen* (Romanet) Stapf in Hook; *Eleusine indica* (Linn) Gaertn; *Leersia hexandra* Swartz; *Neyraudia reynaudiana* (Kunth) keng ex Hitch.; *Oplismenus compositus* (Linn). P. Beauv., *Pogonatherum critinum* (Thunb) Kunth; *Saccharum arundinaceum* Retz.; *Saccharum longisetosum* (Anders. ex Benth) Narayanswami.; *Thysanolaena maxima* (Roxb) O, Kuntze.; *Cyperus tenuispica* Steud.; *Mariscus microcephalus* J.& C. Presl. Rel, Haenk.; *Licuala peltata* Roxb.; *Raphidophora hookeri* Schott in Bonpland.; *Forrestia hookeri* Hassk.; *Dioscorea glabra* Roxb. Besides these wild banana (*Musa* spp.) plants are common in the valleys.

There are different species of orchids and ferns found growing luxuriantly on other trees. Among the members of the gymnosperms group, *cycas* sp. *gnetum* sp. and a rare *podocarpus* sp. are found to occur in this district.

Amongst the phytoplanktons and other microscopic plants collected from Sangu river, and Rainkhyong lake, the following names may be mentioned : various diatoms, desmids, *cladophora* spp., *chara-corallina*; *scytonema* spp., *oedogonium* sp. *spirogyra* spp. *ulothrix*, *microspora*, and *pearsoniella* spp.; *cylindrospermum* spp.; *lyngbiya*, *oscillatoria* spp., *merismopedi* spp., etc.; *trentepohlia arborum*, *porphyridium*, *stigonema* spp., etc. are but only few to mention of the aquatic flora [see Islam, A. K. M. N. : Jour. Asiatic Society of Pakistan 14(3), 1969].

Hum cultivation is not the only cause of destruction of the virgin forests and natural vegetation of this district. The Kaptai Hydro-Electric Project necessitated the formation of a large lake thereby changing the pattern of vegetation over a considerable area of Rangamati subdivision. In Kaptai lake we will now expect rich phytoplanktons which will be the source of food of the fish.

In Ramgarh a large area has now been brought under cultivation in a systematic manner for pine-apple, banana, some spices, coffee, ground nut and other crops. In some other parts plantation of rubber plants is also in progress. The Chandraghona Paper and Rayon Mills require constant supply



A "Gail", Chittagong Hill Tracts.

of local bamboos and other wooden logs as raw materials. Too frequent cutting of such raw materials without allowing much time to these vegetation to grow, resulting in the denudation of once rich virgin forests of the district. The establishment of the paper mill, Kaptai Hydro-electric Project, systematic cultivation of food crops and building up of good communication system, etc., have changed the face of the district from the abode of elephants and other animals to a place of empty horizon and thin vegetation. Moreover, as a result of the creation of Kaptai lake thousands of people have been displaced and they have to be rehabilitated in certain areas where previously the vegetation was not much damaged by human interference. The damage is quite alarming at the moment and if not checked, very little forest flora would be left in near future in the district

The mammalian fauna of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is still as rich as it should be under the circumstances done in spite of great damage to its habitats by the expansion of agriculture and industry. However, some well-known species of animals which once had a wide distribution are now extinct or nearly so. It seems from old records that the great Indian Rhinoceros and the Indian two-horned Rhinoceros lived in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area but are now extinct. Both the Gaur (*Bos gaurus*) and Banting (*B. banting*) are either extinct or on the verge of extinction. The same is probably true of the Clouded Leopard, Leopard Cat, Marbled Cat, Golden Cat and Serow. The great Sambur and the Elephant, though still widely found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, have of late become greatly restricted.

Fauna :
Mammals.

Capped Monkey, Leaf Monkey, Asian Jackal, Bengal Fox, probably Indian wild Dog, Sun Bear, Martens, Weasels, Honey Badger, Hog-Badger, Jungle Cat, Fishing Cat, Panther, Tiger (very rare), Wild Boar (showing great increase in population in recent years) Barking Deer, Spotted Deer (few), Swamp Deer (few), Porcupines, Scaly Anteater etc. are all met with. There are a large number of bats including the Indian Fruit Bat ; many squirrels including flying squirrels and several rats and mice.

Other mammals
include.

So far as birds are concerned the Chittagong Hill Tracts possess the richest avifauna of East Pakistan. This is the only district to support the typically tropical evergreen forest species of birds in addition to other species to be found in open countries and cultivated areas.

Birds.

A full list of birds of Chittagong Hill Tracts will be too much for a short note like this. Briefly it can be said that out of about 66 families of birds occurring in East Pakistan, as many as 55 are represented in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and those which are not represented are mostly marine and shore birds.

Of the pheasant group, as many as 10 or 12 species occur in the Chittagong Hill Tracts including the Red Jungle Fowl, Peacock Pheasant, Black-breasted Kalij, Bamboo Partridge, White-checked Partridge, Hill Partridge, Blue breasted and Manipur Bush Quails and others. The Burmese Peafowl once occurred in the remote eastern regions of the district, but its present status is uncertain. Among pigeons and doves, include the pintailed, thickbilled, grey-fronted, orange breasted and yellow footed, Green pigeons, Green Imperial Pigeon, Blue Rock Pigeon, Purple Wood Pigeon, Rufous Turtle Dove, Ring Dove, Little Brown Dove and Emerald Dove. Among parrots, Rose-ringed Parakeet, Red-breasted Parakeet, Blossom-headed Parakeet, Slaty-headed Parakeet and the tiny Lorikeet are present.

Cuckoos, including Red-winged Crested Cuckoo, Hodgson's Hawk-Cuckoo, Indian Cuckoo, Banded Bay Cuckoo, Emerald Cuckoo, Koel, Sirkeer Cuckoo, Malkoha, Coucal and a number of migratory cuckoos are available. The owls are well-represented with as many as 16 or 17 species including Barn owl, Grass owl, Bay owl, Scopes owl, Eagle owl, Brown Fish-owllet, Pigmy owllet, Jungle owllet, Spotted owllet and Brown, Hawk owl. There are about 7 or 8 kingfishers, including the pied Blyth's Common, Blue-eared, Threetoed, stork billed, Ruddy, White-breasted and Black-capped kingfishers. There are Speckled Piculet, Rufous Piculet, Rufous Scalybellied Green, Black-naped Green, Yellow-naped, Golden backed, Pale-headed, Great Slaty, Fulvous breasted pied, Yellow-fronted pied, and Grey fronted pied, woodpeckers and others.

Bulbuls including Blackheaded, Redwhiskered, Redvented Whitethroated, and olive Bulbuls are all met with, as are also the family of babblers, flycatchers, warblers.

Other important and interesting birds are as follows: rap-torial birds, about a dozen species of rails and crakes including moorhen, Kora, Waterhen; both the jacanas; large number of species of Charadriidae; one frogmouth which occurs only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of East Pakistan; Nightjars, several species of swifts, the beautiful and only species of Redheaded Trogon; Bee-eaters; both the Indian and Broadbilled

here. There is, however, one or two records of crocodile being seen or killed in the river Karnafuli, which must have moved up-streams from the coastal waters of the Bay of Bengal.

Fishes.

The Karnafuli reservoir, the biggest man made artificial lake has been created as a result of construction of the dam across the river Karnafuli at Kaplai for the installation of Karnafuli Hydro-electric Power Station. The dam was partially closed in the year 1960 and was completely closed in 1961. E. P. WAPDA has estimated the area of the lake to 253 sq. miles. The lake water is intercepted here and there by high hills making separate patches of water connected with narrow strips.

Before closing of the dam there was abundant fish in the Karnafuli river. Due to closing of the dam those fishes have been captivated in the lake. This stock has also been supplemented by the liberation of about 24 lakhs of carp fingerlings by the Directorate of Fisheries. There is no record of the species of fishes available in the river Karnafuli before closing of the dam. The collection of fishes as recorded by the Directorate of Fisheries reveals that 55 species of fishes belonging to different families are available in the Karnafuli river. Varieties of fish available in the Kaplai lake are mentioned below with scientific name:—

Classification of fishes.	Bengali name.
1. <i>Gadusia chapra</i> (Hamilton) ...	Chapila.
2. <i>Cortica soborna</i> (Hamilton) ...	Kanpona.
3. <i>Megalops cundanga</i> Jerdon ...	Phassa.
4. <i>Setipinna phasa</i> (Hamilton) ...	Phassa.
5. <i>Notopterus chitala</i> (Hamilton) ...	Chital.
6. <i>Notopterus notopterus</i> (Pallas) ...	Pholoi.
7. <i>Labeo rohita</i> (Hamilton) ...	Ruhu.
8. <i>Labeo gonius</i> (Hamilton) ...	Ghonia.
9. <i>Labeo nigrifripus</i> (Hamilton) ...	Longu.
10. <i>Labeo angra</i> (Hamilton) ...	Kharsha.
11. <i>Labeo calbasu</i> (Hamilton) ...	Kalibous.
12. <i>Cirrhinna mrigala</i> (Hamilton) ...	Mrigal.
13. <i>Calia Calia</i> (Hamilton) ...	Katal, Katala.
14. <i>Barbus (Puntius) sarana</i> (Hamilton) ...	Sorol puti.
15. <i>Barbu (Puntius) ticto</i> (Hamilton) ...	Titputi.
16. <i>Barbus (Puntius) sophore</i> (Hamilton) ...	Puti.
17. <i>Barbus (Puntius) tor</i> (Hamilton) ...	Mohashol.
18. <i>Amblypharyngodon mola</i> (Hamilton) ...	Moia, Mowrala.
19. <i>Rashbora daniconius</i> (Hamilton) ...	Dankina.
20. <i>Aspidoparia morar</i> (Hamilton) ...	Durabaish.
21. <i>Aspidoparia joya</i> (Hamilton) ...	...

Rollers; at least 3 species of hornbills, so commonly seen in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and no where else in East Pakistan. Barbets; Broad-bills and Pittas. Larks, swallows and martins are well represented though many are migratory. There are drongos including the Greater Racket-tailed, Lesser Racket-tailed and Hairy crested Drongos; Mynas; Magpies and many species of minivets, cuckoo-shrikes, etc; Ioras, Chloropites, the Fairy Blue-Bird, tits, Nuthatches, pipits and Wagtails; Five species of Flowerpecker, sunbirds, spiderhunters and Whiteeye, several munias, finches and buntings.

The waterbirds include the Little Grebe, cormorants, shags and catter; herons, storks, and white and black ibises. The ducks and geese are not many and most are migratory except the Whiling Teal which is resident.

The white-winged woodduck (*Carina scutulata*), which in recent years have become almost extinct from its known range of distribution in the other parts of the Oriental Region, had a large population in the Chittagong Hill Tracts especially near Mainimukh. In recent years it disappeared from that area presumably as a result of the Kaptai Lake and disturbances. Recently a small population has been sighted near Pabla-khal and attempts are being made to protect this rare bird, whose disappearance from here would be another tragedy for the world.

Our knowledge of the reptiles and amphibians of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is rather superficial, as no survey of these animals has ever been made. Like any other tropical or sub-tropical forest this area also has a rich fauna of reptiles and amphibians, which needs careful study for assessing the status.

However, some very important faunas are already known. The giant Land Turtle (*Testudo*) certainly occurs here. Of the snakes, the King Cobra, different species of kraits, i. e., Banded, Common-kraits, Coral snakes, different species of vipers, e. g., Green Viper, Jerdan's viper, Quessell's viper, Large spotted viper, etc., B. Reticulated Pylhon, Rat snake and other non-poisonous snakes are present. Besides there are a large number of species of lizards, including the Monitor Lizard, skinks, geckos, etc., and amphibians like toads, frogs and tree frogs.

Old records do mention about crocodiles in the waters of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Both the records of the 50 or 60 years do not supply any evidence that this creature occurs

Classification of fishes.	Bengali name.
22. <i>Rohtee cotio</i> (Hamilton) ...	Koti.
23. <i>Chela bacaila</i> (Hamilton) ...	Banspata.
24. <i>Perilampus atpar</i> (Hamilton) ...	Chela.
25. <i>Wallago attu</i> (Bloch and Schneider) ...	Boal.
26. <i>Ompok bimaculatus</i> (Bloch) ...	Pabda.
27. <i>Mystus aor</i> (Hamilton) ...	Air.
28. <i>Mystus seengala</i> (Sykes) ...	Air.
29. <i>Mystus vittatus</i> (Bloch) ...	Tengara.
30. <i>Mystus cavasius</i> (Hamilton) ...	Kabashi tengra.
31. <i>Mystus punctatus</i> Jerdon ...	Kaon.
32. <i>Gagata cento</i> (Hamilton) ...	Jungla.
33. <i>Bagarius bagarius</i> (Hamilton) ...	Bug Air.
34. <i>Clupisoma garua</i> (Hamilton) ...	Garua.
35. <i>Eutropiichthys vacha</i> (Hamilton) ...	Bacha.
36. <i>Ailia Coila</i> (Hamilton) ...	Kajulia.
37. <i>Clarias batrachus</i> (Linnaeus) ...	Magur.
38. <i>Heteropenustes fossilis</i> (Bloch) ...	Singi.
39. <i>Amphipnous Cuchia</i> (Hamilton) ...	Kuchia.
40. <i>Anguilla bengalensis</i> gray and Hardw. ...	Chelosh.
41. <i>Xenentodon Cancila</i> (Hamilton) ...	Kakila.
42. <i>Dermogenys pusillus</i> von Hasselt ...	Akthuti.
43. <i>Mugil corsula</i> (Hamilton) ...	Corsula, Khalla
44. <i>Aplocheilichthys panchax</i> (Hamilton) ...	Chokpona.
45. <i>Channa marulius</i> (Hamilton) ...	Gojar.
46. <i>Channa striatus</i> Bloch ...	Shol.
47. <i>Channa punctatus</i> Blach ...	Taki.
48. <i>Channa Gachua</i> (Hamilton) ...	Ogol.
49. <i>Chanda Ambassis</i> (nama Hamilton) ...	Chanda.
50. <i>Chanda</i> (Ranga Hamilton) ...	Chanda
51. <i>Sciaenops ocellatus</i> (Hamilton) ...	Poa.
52. <i>Anabas testudineus</i> Bloch ...	Koi.
53. <i>Colisa lalius</i> (Hamilton) ...	Lalkholisha.
54. <i>Mastacembelus armatus</i> (Lacep) ...	Baim.
55. <i>Mastacembelus pancalus</i> (Hamilton). ...	Tara baim.

As elsewhere in East Pakistan, there are three main seasons the dry season, from November to March, which is relatively cool, sunny and dry; the pre-monsoon season, April-May, which is very hot and sunny with occasional thunderstorms; and the monsoon or wet season, June-October, which is warm, cloudy and wet.

Climate.

Mean annual rainfall is generally a little less than 100 inches in the north and east, but 100—150 inches in the south and west. The higher hill ridges may receive more than interior valleys. Amounts vary considerably from year to year, and there

Rain fall

are occasional prolonged periods of rainfall during which 20 inches or more of rainfall may occur within a few days and cause serious floods both within the Hill Tracts and in adjoining Chittagong district :—

Monthly rainfall data for the following stations of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are given in the table.

	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
RAINFALL															
(Inches)															
(1902-1961)															
Dighinala	Mean	..	0.36	0.98	2.38	5.50	11.60	17.23	14.89	15.28	12.20	6.28	1.11	0.25	91.33
	Extreme Maximum	..	2.72	4.64	10.20	15.70	24.06	35.50	35.28	29.59	24.25	19.78	6*	3.16	116.65
	Extreme Minimum	..	0.	0.	0.	0.	3.72	7.43	3.40	5.67	0.	0.	0.	0.1	51.64
Rangamati	Mean	..	0.34	0.97	1.95	5.32	10.00	18.35	19.70	17.86	12.49	6.28	1.73	0.59	96.50
	Extreme Maximum	..	4.60	4.86	16.06	24.48	21.84	44.38	41.67	36.39	25.16	16.76	6.45	6.42	148.09
	Extreme Minimum	..	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.41	2.68	7.20	4.54	3.62	0.34	0.	0.	44.78
Naikhong- chhari	Mean	..	0.31	0.41	0.83	2.71	10.90	27.30	30.80	26.00	14.10	9.40	1.77	0.69	121.68
	Extreme Maximum	..	3.25	2.50	11.22	12.75	31.74	73.79	52.92	57.85	42.27	22.85	20.16	7.89	187.62
	Extreme Minimum	..	0*	0.	..	0.	74	8.33	6.52	5.31	3.40	0.93	0.	0.	*50

*Estimated from records for nearby stations.

*Estimated from records for nearby stations.

Temperature

Mean monthly temperatures at Rangamati vary from about 65-70° F in December-February to 85° F in April-May. Absolute minimum and maximum temperatures have ranged between 44° F (January) and 108° F (May). It is possible that ground frost occurs on a few nights on exposed hill tops in the dry season.

Humidity reaches 100 per cent. at night almost throughout the year, but day-time figures are probably below 50 per cent. in the dry season and about 50—80 per cent. in the wet season.

The Hill Tracts are periodically exposed to devastating cyclones originating in the Bay of Bengal. These are most liable to occur in April-May and September-November. Squally winds associated with nor'-westers (Thunderstorms) in April-May also occasionally cause damage to crops, trees and houses. The average temperature and evaporation data for Rangamati and Kaptai stations within the Hill Tracts are given in the following table:—

Average temperature and evaporation data for Rangamati and Kaptai

	Jan. 2	Feb. 3	March. 4	April. 5	May. 6	June. 7	July. 8	Aug. 9	Sept. 10	Oct. 11	Nov. 12	Dec. 13	Year. 14
1													
Extreme maximum	89	93	100	101	108	96	96	98	96	95	90	88	101
Mean maximum	80.1	84.2	89.0	95.5	94.6	87.7	89.8	88.5	90.0	88.7	84.4	80.5	87.8
Mean temperature	66.4	70.4	78.4	84.8	87.7	82.0	83.5	83.0	83.5	82.0	74.6	69.3	78.6
Mean minimum	52.6	56.8	65.4	74.0	76.7	76.2	77.1	77.1	77.0	75.2	64.6	58.1	67.6
Extreme minimum	44	45	52	63	68	71	71	72	72	65	55	49	44
Evaporation (inches) (1961-1963)													
Average	2.78	2.98	5.40	5.82	5.47	3.41	3.98	3.46	4.09	3.58	3.07	2.22	46.26
Extreme maximum	90	95	102	109	104	100	97	103	97	96	91	90	109
Mean maximum	81.3	85.8	92.5	96.4	95.2	90.9	89.7	90.0	90.3	89.2	85.3	81.6	89.0
Mean temperature	66.6	70.3	77.6	84.8	85.6	83.6	83.2	82.8	83.0	81.2	74.2	68.7	78.4
Mean minimum	51.8	54.8	62.8	72.8	76.1	76.3	76.7	75.5	75.8	73.2	63.2	55.8	67.9
Extreme minimum	42	45	52	62	68	70	73	66	72	66	56	47	42
Evaporation (inches) (1961-1963).													
Average	2.79	3.23	5.18	5.92	6.11	4.04	4.20	3.64	3.63	3.55	3.10	2.64	42.83

Source—Masterplan, Supplement A: Climate and Hydrology, E.P.W.A.P.D.A., 1964.

Natural calamities-earth quakes.

Earth quake of 1762.

Earth-quakes occur frequently, but the shocks are generally slight. Volcanic-type activity at Sitakund in adjoining Chittagong district occurred on the 2nd of April, 1762 and was followed on the next day by a violent earth-quake, a record of which is to be found in volume 11 of Lyall's Geology. Severe shocks were recorded on the 10th January, 1869, the 12th June, 1897 and the 7th July, 1900. The shock of 1897, which wrecked Shillong and caused great damage throughout Eastern Bengal, left but little trace here. This was felt over an area of 17,50,000 square miles and caused damage over a period of ten years after the main shock. The rainfall of 1897 was very heavy and the water percolating through the cracks and fissures, caused by the earth-quake caused several heavy landslips throughout the hills, which did considerable damage to the Government roads and forest.

Earthquake of 1869 to 1900 and 1897.

Earthquake of 1950.

This was one of the greatest earthquakes so far recorded. Though the epicentre was in the region of Burma-China-Assam border yet it was felt quite severely throughout East Pakistan. Details of damage caused are not available.

Earthquake of 1955.

The epicentre of this earthquake was in the vicinity of Chittagong Hill Tracts, very close to Burma border, about 50 miles south-east of Chittagong. Many pendulum clocks stopped when a sharp jolt shocked Chittagong. Some buildings also suffered minor damage.

Cyclones.

Cyclone of 1876.

The Hill Tracts are well within the cyclone belt of the Bay of Bengal and have frequently been devastated by cyclonic storms. During the night of the 31st October 1876 a severe cyclone swept over Chittagong, accompanied by a storm wave which destroyed 1 75,000 people at *Sandwip* and the neighbouring areas. There was not a heavy loss of life in the Hill Tracts, but great damage was done to the standing crops and there was a considerable loss of livestock. October is a record month for highest cyclone frequencies; for there was another on the 2nd of October 1895, and a third on the 23rd October 1897. This tempest was of great violence. Extensive damage was done to the town of Chittagong, several tea estates were wrecked, while a storm wave depopulated the island of Kutubdia. Some lives were lost in the Hill Tracts, but fortunately the havoc line of the cyclone lay through the least populated part of the district, otherwise the loss of life would have been very heavy. The forest reserves were considerably damaged and the experimental tea plantation at Kaptai was also wrecked. Great numbers of sea birds were blown inland where they succumbed to exhaustion and were collected in basketful by the hill folk.

Cyclone of 1895 and 1897.

Coastal areas of Chittagong, the islands of Sandwip, Kutubdia Maheskhali and Chakparia, off the coast between Chittagong and Cox's Bazar in the district of Chittagong and parts of Chittagong Hill Tracts were the main target of attack by the two consecutive cyclones besides other districts. The Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong were affected severely by the cyclone of October 31, 1960. Nearly 70 per cent. of the Government buildings were destroyed in Hatiya. Communication with Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Noakhali were completely disrupted. 75 per cent. of the livestock in the *char* islands and 80 per cent. of the *aman* crops were damaged. All the 18 unions of Sandwip having a population of more than 2 lakhs were squarely damaged. Two 10,000-ton ocean going ships and eight smaller vessels were tossed to the mainland while five barges and five to seven vessels capsized in the Karnafuli river. The velocity of the wind estimated was more than 120 miles per hour. The captain of the port commissioner's pilot ship reported a wind speed of about 140 miles per hour. Rainfall amounting during the 24 hours were 8" at Rangamati. Though the cyclone of 10th October 1960, affected Chittagong less but the islands like *Char* Jabbar, *Char* Amir, *Char* Bata, Ramgati and Hatiya were affected most. 80 per cent. of the dwelling houses were destroyed and tidal bore, 10 ft. higher than normal, lasted in the islands for six hours, from 6 p. m. to midnight. It is believed that 3 000 persons were killed by the tidal bore at different islands.

Cyclones of 1960.

On 28th May, 1963 a cyclone originating in a deep depression in the Bay of Bengal came with a reported maximum speed of 150 M. P. H. and hit Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong, Noakhali and Comilla districts. The coastal areas of the adjoining districts were worst affected. It caused devastation with a colossal loss to crop and property.

Cyclones of 1963.

Owing to the high banks and deep channel of the rivers, the district does not suffer the general inundations that affects other parts of East Pakistan. An abnormal rise of the rivers may cause a local overflow of only short duration, but without any appreciable damage being caused.

Floods.

In the districts of Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts, the rivers, Matamuhuri, Sangu, Halda and Karnafuli were in flood with the beginning of monsoon. People have been rendered homeless in Chuturia, Patiya Satkania, Anwara, Banskali, Boalkhali, Chakaria, Hathazari, Rangunia, Rauzan, Fatikchhari, Ramu, Panchlaish, Chiringa and Dohazari police station. Flood water threatened to sink a bridge on the river Sangu and road link and tele-communication with Cox's Bazar was disrupted.

Floods of 1967.

The off-shore islands of Maheshkhali, Ujaintia, and Koriardia were almost marooned. Sandwip and Kutubdia islands were also hard hit by flood.

The river Matamuhuri changed its course twice. The tendency to expanding with the failure of banks due to change in the regime of the river by unusual variation in intensity of run off.

The water level of the Matamuhuri at Chiringa was 19.30 P. W. D. on 12th June 1963, as against the danger level of 16.00 P. W. D.

River Halda recorded H. R. F. L. of 36.24 P. W. D. on 13th July, 1963. In the month of July, 1963 the adjoining areas had nearly three times the amount of rainfall against last year's record.

Famine.

Famine, in the strict sense of the word is unknown. The good number of rivers with their large affluents and hill streams make the water-supply perennial, and the vast area of forest lands provides food for man and grazing in abundance for cattle. The forests are full of edible plants, fruits and roots; to people, who are acquainted with them, it is an easy matter to procure from the forests the necessities of a meal.

There are in this district fifty or more varieties of trees of which the fruits are edible and in many cases exceedingly sweet to the taste. Among the best are Bash, Am or wild mango (*Mangifera Indica*); Kamkui (*Kbridelia relusa*) an edible fruit and the leave an excellent fodder; Bharotta gula (*Niphlum litchi*) the indigenous litchi; and then Regasko a creeper with blood red fruit, very sweet, and about the size of small lime. There are several varieties of wild plantain, the fruit of which when ripe is very sweet though full of seed. The inside of the plantain flower makes an excellent vegetable. On removing the purple covering, immature plantains are found which can be fried in butter or oil or made into curry. The white core of the plantain stem cooked with rice is used to eke out rice in days of scarcity and the same chopped up with bran makes an excellent fodder for cattle. As vegetables, there are a dozen varieties of yams procurable all the year round and styled as *Alu* and *Kachu*, etc., with special names to distinguish each. Numerous varieties of spinach are found and are termed *shag*. The young fronds of the male fern known as *Dekhi Shag* and the stalks and tendrils of a creeper that grows in moist places and called *Kormu Shag* are both excellent.

The young shoots of the bamboo (bashkaral) and of the cane (Golak aga) make a first class vegetable curry. These are gathered when the young shoots force their way through the ground and appear in cone shape about a foot in height. There are also several varieties of edible fungi, and mushrooms are plentiful after the yearly rains in April; the season unfortunately only extends to three or four days.

Local scarcities occur owing to the failure of *jhum* crop which may be due to many causes. In 1891, there was a local scarcity in the Chengri Valley. Government sanctioned Rs.20,000 for the purchase of Rangoon rice, which was issued to the people on loan to be repaid in cash without interest. The whole of this amount was recovered in the following year.

Scarcity.
Local scarcity
at Chengri
Valley in 1891.

This scarcity in general, however, occurred in 1905 owing to untimely and persistent rainfall at the season when the *jhums* should have been burnt. The valleys of the Matamuhuri, Chengri, and Kas along rivers are particularly susceptible to local scarcity. This is due to the country having been over-*jhummed* and there being insufficient time allowed to elapse between the *jhums* to enable the forest to recover its growth. The soil, in consequence becomes exhausted and the harvests poor when the main Forest Reserve land is thrown open to cultivation; there is hope of tiding over local incidental crisis, and the Chengri and Kassalong Valleys will recover their fertility to a greater extent as they will have a prolonged rest from any *jhumming* operations.

Scarcity of
1905.

The scarcity of 1905, necessitating very considerable aid from the Government. The sum of Rs.80,000 was sanctioned for the purchase of Rangoon rice. Depots were opened on the Matamuhuri, Sangu, Karnafuli, Chengri, and Kassalong rivers and loans of rice were freely issued to the people on the same conditions as in 1891. Gratuitous relief was also given by the Government where actually necessary. The Baptist Mission issued relief to the extent of Rs.5,000 in rice which was bought mainly from the subscription raised by the society at home. The Chakma Chief also issued loans of rice to the value of Rs.5,000 without interest. There were no death from actual starvation, but there was very great suffering and consequent malnutrition and the privation undergone undoubtedly had an effect on the subsequent death rate. This was more marked in the cases of the aged and infants. It is satisfactory to note that practically the whole of the Government loan was recovered. The country suffers sometimes severely, from the visitation of rats. They come in swarms and like locusts sweep everything before them. They devour the standing corn and empty

the granaries, and nothing stops them. It is reported that a visitation of these rats in 1864 caused a local scarcity in the north of the district. They were said to have come from the south and after completing their devastation disappeared as suddenly as they had made their appearance.



A Chakma Woman, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

Geographically, the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts belongs to the hilly region that branches off from the Himalayan ranges to the south through Assam and Hill Tripura to Arakan and Burma. As a result, its historical development had been different from that of the vast low-lying alluvial plains of East Pakistan.

Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong formed a bone of contention between the rulers of Hill Tripura and Arakan and it frequently changed hands. According to one account, Bira Raja was the founder of Hill Tripura Raj Dynasty in 590 A.D. Zuja Rupa (Bira Raja) defeated the king of Hill Chittagong and made Rangamati his Capital. According to the traditional account, Raja Udaigiri of Hill Tripura had appointed Kilay and Manglay, two brothers, as officers-in-charge of Reangs who lived in the hills to the south of the Matamuhuri river. In 953 A.D. Tsula Tsandra (951-957), a king of Arakan occupied the present districts of Chittagong Hill Tracts and Chittagong. Again, in 1240 A.D., the King of Tripura occupied this region.

Sultan Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah (1338-49) conquered Chittagong (possibly including parts of Hill Tracts). The Chakma King Mwun Tsni, was driven out from upper Burma in 1418, because of his alleged disrespect towards Buddhism. He took shelter at Ali Kadam under the Muslim Officer in the present Chittagong district. He settled the Chakmas at Ramu and Teknaf. In 1406, Shua Mangji usurped the throne of Arakan and forced the Arakanese King Meng Soamwan *alias* Nara Meikhlā (1404-34) to seek refuge in the Court of Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1418-31) of Gaur (son of Raja Ganesh). In 1430, Wali Khan, a military officer under Sultan Jalaluddin, then posted at Chittagong, rebelled against Gaur when he was called upon to drive out Shua Mangji and restore Mong Soamwan to the Arakanese throne. Sultan Jalaluddin sent an army which killed Wali Khan, invaded Arakan and helped the restoration of Mugh King Meng Soamwan to Arakanese throne.

Mengkhari *alias* Ali Khan (1434-39), a successor of Meng Soamwan, made an attempt to reoccupy the territories lost to Muslims in the previous years and succeeded in ejecting the Chakmas from Ramu and Teknaf as Sultan Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah (1431-42), last king of the dynasty founded by Raja Ganesh, did not care to reinforce the garrison on the border of Arakan. This region remained in disputed possession and for some years acknowledged Arakanese suzerainty.

A bone of
contention
between Hill
Tripura and
Arakan.

Conquest by
Bengal Sultans.

The region, a
disputed
possession.

Ilyas Shahi and
Husain Shahi
rulers.

The Ilyas Shahi Sultan, Rukunuddin Barbak Shah (1459-74) re-established his authority there towards the end of his rule. During the reign of Alauddin Husain Shah (1493-1519), the King of Arakan recovered this territory for a short time. According to *Rajmala*, the Arakanese King took advantage of Husain's pre-occupation with Tripura King. It was evidently this Arakanese aggression that the military operations were started, possibly under the command of the crown-prince Nusrat. He was assisted by Paragal Khan, who became the military Governor of the conquered territory. Paragal, and after him, his son Chhuti Khan, steadily pushed the Arakanese southwards and also maintained a vigilant watch on the Tripura King. In 1517, a Portuguese emissary, Joao de Silveiro landed at Chittagong and found the port in possession of 'the King of Bangala'. Jaychandra (1482-1531), a Buddhist Mugh Chief at Chakrasala exercised authority over the territory between the rivers Karnaphuli and Sangu, as a tributary to the Sultan of Bengal.

Contest between
rulers of Tripura
and Arakan.

According to *Rajmala*, Dhanya Manikya re-established the authority of the Tripura Dynasty in the Chittagong region and also invaded Arakan by 1515 A.D. Arakanese Mugh King Minyaza reconquered some territories in 1518. In the same year Chakma Chief, Chanui, made submission to the Arakanese Mugh King and sent him two lime painted fake white elephants through Dharangiri, an Arakanese Governor, posted in this region. The Arakanese King bestowed the title of Kuphru to the Chakma King and married the daughter of the Chakma Chief in 1520. Deb Manikya of Tripura wrested some territory from Arakanese hands temporarily in 1522, but Minbin *alias* Zabauk Shah (1531-53) of Arakan re-occupied the territory in 1531.

Sher Shah.

The port of Chittagong had become the rendezvous of the Portuguese during the time of Sher Shah's war. Sher's deputy captured the place, but he himself was taken captive by Nuno Fernandez Freire, Chief of the Portuguese Colony at Chittagong. At the end, Sher Shah's authority was re-established over the territory.

Bijaya Manikya.

The Tripura Kings had played a prominent part in the history of Bengal in the sixteenth century. Biaya Manikya (C1540-71), mentioned in *the Ain-i-Akbari*, was a powerful ruler who recovered Chittagong region from the Muslims. Amar Manikya (1577-86), however, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the King of Arakan (Sikandar Shah), who overran Tripura and even plundered his capital.

The Arakanese King seems to have recaptured the district in 1575 A.D. Ralph Fitch wrote in 1585 that the district was of en under the Arakanese King who were constantly at war about its possession with the kings of Tripura.

Ralph Fitch.

The King of Arakan (invariably termed 'Rakhang' in the *Baharistan*) took advantage of the internal troubles and political complications following Akbar's nominal conquest of Bengal to extend their authority over a large portion of south-eastern Bengal. The Arakanese King Meng Phalaung (Sikandar Shah, 1571-1593) brought the whole of Chittagong region under his sway, and also occupied a large portion of Noakhali and Tripura. His son Meng Khamuang (Husain Shah, 1612-1622) led a number of campaigns against Bengal and proved to be a serious menace to the Mughal peace in the country.

Raids of Arakanese Kings.

The Arakanese King usually posted a brother or a second son as officer-in-charge of this district. Meng Radzagni issued trilingual coins in Arabic, Burmese and Devnagari with his Burmese and Muslim titles in 1601.

The Portuguese sea-rovers, commonly known as Feringi pirates, did not fully submit themselves to the authority of the Arakanese King, though they had two strong settlements in his domain, one at Dianga, 20 miles south of Chittagong town, and the other on the Arakan Coast at Syriam. Chittagong region, the hilly tract lying midway between Bengal on the north-west and Arakan on the south, was the greatest stronghold of these Feringi pirates; and from Chittagong they constantly led plundering raids into the coastal territories of southern and eastern Bengal. The Feringi pirates of Dianga and Syriam were often involved in quarrels with their political overlords, the King of Arakan.

The Portuguese Pirates.

The Portuguese free-booters carried on their depredation into Bengal in close alliance with the local people of Chittagong region, commonly known as the Mughls, who were a race of equally competent seamen, equally cruel and adventurous, and living a similar piratical life. The quaint features, manners, and customs of these half civilized Mongolid hordes, the frequency, severity, and ruthlessness of their raids, the serious damage and desolation caused by them, and their harsh and brutal treatment of their captives, all combined to make the Mughls an object of great hatred and terror to the Mughal officers and people of Bengal, as testified by the author of the *Fathiya* and the European traveller, Bernier.

The Mughls.

Mughal conquest.

The District of Chittagong Hill Tracts remained in Arakanese possession till 1666 A.D. Shaista Khan, the Mughal Governor of Bengal under Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, taking advantage of dispute between the Portuguese and Arakanese Court, conquered the district in 1666 and the name of Chatgaon was changed to Islamabad by the order of the pious Emperor. The District of Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts remained undisturbed in Mughal possession until 1760 A.D. when it was ceded to the East India Company by Mir Qasim Ali Khan, the semi-independent Governor under the Mughals.

Under the East India Company.

During the first few years after the cession of Chittagong to the East India Company in 1760, the attention of the authorities appears to have been mainly directed to the administration of that portion of the ceded territory which subsequently formed the Regulation District. The Headmen of the hill tribes were allowed to retain their authority, and the Government jurisdiction practically extended only to the collection of revenue from the hills in the shape of tax on cotton. Even this revenue was not collected from the hill tribes by Government officers, but was farmed out to a third party, who was neither the ruler of the tribe he represented nor had any control over its members. In 1829, Mr. Halhed, the Commissioner stated that the hill-tribes were not British subjects, but merely tributaries, and that he recognised no right of the British to interfere with their internal arrangements. The near neighbourhood of a powerful and stable Government naturally brought the Chiefs by degrees under British influence, and by the end of the 18th century every leading chief paid to the Chittagong Collector a certain tribute or yearly gift made to purchase the privilege of free-trade between the inhabitants of the hills and the men of the plains. These sums were at first fluctuating in amount but gradually were brought to specified and fixed limits, eventually taking the shape, not of tribute, but of revenue paid to the State. The Government did not, however interfere directly with the internal economy of the Hill Tracts.

Revolt of Rona Khan.

The Company's Chief of Chittagong wrote in April 1777 to Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, that a mountaineer named Rona Khan had committed great violence on the landholders of the Company by exacting various taxes and imposing several claims on them. Rona Khan called to his aid large bodies of Kukimen, who lived far in the interior parts of the hills, who had not the use of firearms and who remained unclothed. The revolt was crushed by the East India Company. This rising was also met by not allowing the hillmen to have access to the bazars or markets in the neighbouring district of

Chittagong; but the Kukis still continued troublesome and in November, 1777, the Chief of Chittagong ordered Captain Ellerker, commanding the 22nd battalion of sepoy, to send some men for the protection of the inhabitants against the Kukis. In 1784, Governor directed the Chief of Chittagong to report whether the hillmen could be induced by lenient measures to become peaceful subjects and cultivators on the low lands; but no practical result seems to have followed the suggestion.

Troubles from
Kukis.

From a letter from the Raja of Arakan, written to the Chief of Chittagong on June 24, 1787, we learn some interesting historical informations. The Raja mentioned the names of some tribes who absconded from Arakan, took asylum in Chittagong Hills, and were exercising depredation on the people of both the countries. This letter deals with no less than four of the tribes now inhabiting the Chittagong Hill Tracts, namely, Mughs, Chakmas, Marrings or Murungs, and Lais (Pankho and Banjogi). The Arakanese King wanted that these 'robbers' should be driven out from Chittagong Hills so that "our friendship may remain perfect, and that the road of travellers and merchants may be secured".

Arakanese tribes
came to Hill
Tracts.

The hill tribes living within the country which now forms the Chittagong Hill Tracts had constantly been subject to raids from the independent tribes living further eastward, and in consequence of an attack on a fort situated on the Kaptai Khal the Commissioner in 1859, recommended the removal of the Hill Tracts from the Regulation District and the appointment of a Superintendent over the hill tribes. Both of these recommendations were adopted by Act XXII, 1860 which came into operation on the 1st August of that year. The Hill Tracts were separated from the Regulation District, and an officer with the title of Superintendent of Hill Tribes was appointed. Thus the hilly and forest tracts were removed from the jurisdiction of the Civil, Criminal and Revenue courts and officers of the Regulation District. The primary object of the appointment of a Hill Superintendent was the supervision of the independent tribes, and the protection of the dependent tribes within his jurisdiction. The hill in his charge were henceforth known by the name of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. For the next few years, attention was principally directed to the preservation of the peace of the frontier.

Hill Tracts
constituted a
District;
Appointment of
Superintendent.

In 1867, the official designation of the officer-in-charge of the District of Chittagong Hill Tracts was changed from Superintendent to Deputy Commissioner, and he was vested with full control of all matters pertaining both to revenue and justice

Designation of
Deputy Com-
missioner from
1867.

throughout the Hill Tracts. At the same time the district was apportioned into subdivisions, and subordinate officers were placed in charge of them.

Tribal Raids.

During the British regime "Kuki" raids were recorded in 1859, 1866, 1869, 1888 and 1892. Until the year 1860, it appears, the British Government did not interfere directly with the internal economy of the hills. In that year, however, the independent tribes, known by the generic name of Kukies, committed some murderous outrages on British subjects in the adjacent district of Tipperah. These raids were on such a large scale as to cause well-founded anxiety to Government and in July, 1860, a superintendent of Hill tribes was appointed and the Hill Tracts were separated from the Regulation District of Chittagong. As a result of the raids of Kukies on the district of Tipperah, 186 British subjects were murdered, and nearly 100 taken prisoners. The committal of the raid was clearly brought home to the tribes residing in the north-eastern part of the Hill Tracts and accordingly, in January, 1861, a military force was assembled at Barkal to punish the offenders. The village of the Chief Ratan Puiya was situated about eighteen miles to the north-east of Barkal, and on the 27th of January a select force of 230 sepoy, in light marching order with 450 coolies, who carried provisions, left Barkal under the command of Captain (later on Major) Raban. It was difficult to have access to the village; and the troops after marching for six days over a succession of hills, low spurs, and streams, reached it on the 1st February, 1861. The Kukies, having removed all valuable property, set fire to the village and retired, preferring ambuscades and surprises to regular open fighting. The grain destroyed, about 1,500 maunds of rice, was the only retributive injury inflicted on the tribal people. The expedition having accomplished all that was practicable, returned to Barkal. Negotiations followed for the pacification of the country, and in October, 1861, Ratan Puiya tendered his submission. During the two following years (1862 and 1863) there was peace in the Hill Tracts but on the 15th and 19th January, 1864, a band of Shendus attacked two villages, killed five persons, and carried away twenty-three men, women and children into slavery. In the month of April of the same year, a band of the same tribe attacked a body of twenty-six Bengali wood-cutters, shot five of them, and captured nine others. They then attacked a Khyoungtha (Mugh) village, and out of fifty-six inhabitants, killed six and took thirty prisoners. In the year 1865-66, the Shendus again made two raids on the Hill Tracts, on the first occasion, they took six captives, and on the second,

more than twenty persons were carried off. In the year 1866, a more serious outrage was committed by the Haulong clan of Lushais. The raid occurred on the 6th July, when they attacked and cut up three villages of the Banjogi tribe, as they are commonly called, the Bohomong's Kukies, in the Sangu Valley to the south of the Hill Tracts. A detachment of the same party also penetrated into British territory as far as the Kaptai stream, a tributary of the Karnafuli river, and there destroyed a village. Eighty persons were carried away as captives and four were killed. This raid is remarkable as having taken place during the rains when the Kukies are generally busily engaged in agricultural pursuits, and when the unhealthiness of the season and the difficulties of travelling offer almost insuperable obstacles to an expedition. On the 12th January, 1867, the Haulong clan again violated the Bohomong's territory. The villages attacked were Khyoungtha (Migh) villages; eleven persons were killed and thirty-five carried into slavery. No raid took place during the year 1868; but in January, 1869, an attack was made on the police post of Chima on the Sangu river, the guards, consisting of ten men was defeated, and the post destroyed. Seven men were killed and the women and children of the whole guard carried off into captivity. A second but less serious raid was made on a Murung village in the following month. On the morning of the 19th July, 1870, a village, situated within half an hour's walk of the police post of Chima, which had been rebuilt since its destruction in the previous year, was attacked by a body of forty to fifty men, and four men and six children were carried off. Another raid was committed in December of the same year on a village on the Sangu, about half-way between Chima and Pyndu. Two men were killed and one taken captive. During the year 1871, no raid occurred; but in January, 1872, a party of Shendus surprised the frontier post at Pyndu. The enterprise was vigorously undertaken, and some of the raiders effected an entrance into the stockade, but they were soon driven out and put to flight with considerable loss. In 1870-71, a series of raids of an unusually aggravated character was perpetrated in the neighbouring British district of Cachar by the Haulong tribe of Lushais, in which the lives of several Europeans were sacrificed, and the daughter of a planter, together with several native British subjects, were carried away as captives by the raiders. The occurrence of these outrages determined the then Government to undertake effective reprisals, and two columns of attack entered the Lushai country simultaneously, one from Cachar under General Boucher, the other from the Chittagong Hill Tracts under the command of General Brownlow, C. B.

The operations of these columns, extending over a period of five months, were entirely successful; the captives were recovered, and the offending tribes tendered their submission, and were compelled to pay a heavy fine for their lawless and unprovoked attacks. Since then no disturbance took place; one attempt was, however, made by the Shendus shortly before the commencement of the rains of 1875; but as they believed, though on incorrect information, that the village they were about to attack was prepared to receive them, they beat a hasty retreat. The Shendus and the other tribes occupying the high lands facing the southern half of the district committed raids on the southern Chittagong Hills. The Kukies and other tribes continued occasional raids creating havoc. A final military expedition was launched against the tribes in 1898 and thereafter the area was entirely pacified. Now a days, a trip to the Hill Tracts is as safe as to any other part of East Pakistan.

Changes in
Administration
and designation
of administrator.

In 1891, after the annexation of the Lushai Hills by the British, the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts lost much of its importance, and was reduced to the status of a subdivision in charge of an Assistant Commissioner, a subordinate to the Divisional Commissioner. In 1900, it was again formed into a District by Regulation I of that year, and the old designation of Superintendent was restored to the Officer-in-charge. The boundaries were revised and a strip on the east, including Demagiri with a population of about 1,500, was transferred to the Lushai Hills. The District was at the same time divided into the Chakma, Mang and Bomong Circles, each of which was placed under the jurisdiction of its own Chief, who was made responsible for the collection of the revenue and for regulating the internal affairs of his villages. The Chakma Circle occupies the centre and north of the District, the Bomong Circle is in the South and the Mang Circle in the north-west. Corresponding to these circles are three subdivisions, namely, Rangamati, Bandarban and Ramgarh under three subdivisional officers, who are there largely for purposes of supervision and liaison.

Establishment of
Pakistan.

With the establishment of Pakistan in the month of August, 1947, the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts came under the jurisdiction of the new State and entered into a period of remarkable changes and development.

A short history
of the Chakmas.

The Chief of the Chakmas has his headquarters at Rangamati. The Chakmas are a Mongoloid race and undoubtedly of the Arakanese origin. According to the census of 1951, out of a total population of 2,87,688 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts,

1,24,762 were Chakmas. There was a remarkable increase in the population of Chakmas. According to the census of 1901, their number was only 44,329. At the time of the Burmese wars (1784 A.D.), they were ousted by the Mughls from Arakan and forced to enter the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. Prof. Pierre Bessaignet says, "By the end of the eighteenth century, as a result of Burmese invasions, two-third of the population of Arakan is supposed to have fled to Chittagong Hill Tracts". They occupy the central and northern portions, or rather less than half of the District. The Chakmas are Buddhist in religion.

A short history of the Chakma Raj Family was written by the Chakma Raja, Bhuvan Mohon Roy (who calls himself 45th Chakma Raja). This document is found in the archives of the Chakma Raj family at Rangamati.

The Chakma
Raj Family.

Long ago, there lived at the foot of the Himalayas, a Kashatriya king named Shakya, who had his capital at Kalapanagar. He was succeeded by his son Sudhanya. Of the three sons of the King Sudhanya, one became an ascetic, another a Buddhist Bhikshu, but the third son, Langaldhan, became king. After Langaldhan, his son, Kshudrajit, became king. Kshudrajit's son and successor, King Samudrajit, turned a Buddhist Bhikshu and his dynasty became extinct.

Rulers of
Kalapanagar.

Samudrajit's minister, Shyamal, who also belonged to the same family, left Kalapanagar and founded a new kingdom on the south-eastern border of the Himalayas. King Shyamal was succeeded by his son, Champakali, who founded a new city on the eastern bank of the Irawadi and named it Champakanagar after him. King Sadanggiri, son of Champakali, burnt his sinful body, the abode of ignorance, and attained salvation. His son, Chengyasur became king after him, who was succeeded by his second son, Chandasur. After Chandasur, his eldest son, Sumesur became king. Sumesur's son Bhimanjoy and grandson, Sambuddha, became king one after another. Sambuddha's eldest son, Bijoygiri, with a large army after journeying for six days by water, landed at a place called Kalabagha on the Tewa river. His general advanced further and conquered new territories. He received a news that his father had died and his younger brother Udayagiri, had usurped the throne. At this news he remained in the conquered territory. But he left no descendant. In Burmese history "Chuijang-Kyatha" it is mentioned that Burma was divided into three parts, one of which was under the Chakma king. The Chakmas selected one of them as their king, named Shakalia (*i.e.* selected by all), who had no son but a daughter named Manikbi. Her husband sided

Rulers of
Champakanagar.

**The Chakma
Kings in
Burma.**

with the Bengalees and fought many battles with the Mughls in the country called Roang (Arakan) in the year 1118-1119 A.D. (*vide* Arakan History: Dengyawadi-Aradafung, pages 17 to 19). After Manikbi, her son, Manikgiri, became king. His son, Madalia, became king after him. Then Madalia's son, Rama Thongza, became king. Rama Thongza's son was Kamalchega. During his reign, there was war in Roang, and the Chakmas migrated into that country.

**The Chakma
Kings in Arakan.**

After Kamalchega, his son, Ratangiri, ascended the throne. **His son**, Kala Thongza, became king after him. After him, his son Shermatya, became king. During his reign the Chakmas fought in Arakan under the leadership of the famous general, Radhamohan. At this time the poem "Chatiga Chhara" (song about Chittagong) was composed. Shermatya's son, King Aranjuk, had many engagements with the Mughls. His capital was at Maichagiri. In 1333-34 A.D., the king of Burma sent a friendly mission to the Chakma King, who suddenly attacked the Chakma King at night and took sons and daughters as prisoners. Then the third son of Aranjuk, named Chandha Thongza became king. He was also known as Ghatya Raja (Toll-tax Collector Raja), as, some times, he was employed as Customs Collector under the Mugh King. His son, Maisang, became king after him. During his time the Chakmas were heavily oppressed by the Mughls and the king being unable to pay up the revenue, became a Buddhist monk (Maisang). As a result, the Chakmas made a secret plan to flee away from the country.

King Marikya, son of Maisang, left Arakan and settled at Kadamtali. The son of Marikya was named Kadam Thongza after the name of the place. His son, Radongsa became Raja after him. Then his son, Tin Sureswari, became Raja. His son, King Janu fought many battles with the Mughls. Sathua, grand-son of Janu (through his daughter Rajembi), was the next king. After him, his queen took reins of government, as his two sons, Chanan Khan and Ratan Khan, were murdered. The next was Dhabana (son of Raja Sathua's daughter Aman-gali). Dhabana's son, Dharamya, became king after him. Dharamaya's son, Mogalya, was the next king who had two sons, Jubal Khan and Fateh Khan by name.

**Relation with
the Muslims.**

There were many engagements with the Mughls during the rule of Jubal Khan. His general, Kalu Khan Sardar, fought many battles with the then Muslim Nawab. After Jubal Khan's death, his brother, Fateh Khan, became king, as Jubal Khan died leaving no issue. Fateh Khan made peace with the Nawab in 1713 A.D.

and obtained permission from the Mughal Emperor, Farrukh-shiyar (1713-19) and subsequently from Muhammad Shah (1719-48) to allow the 'Beparies' to trade with the Jumias on payment of a tribute of 11 maunds of cotton.

Shermust Khan, the eldest son of Fateh Khan, became Raja in 1737 A.D. During his time Mr. Henry Verlest, the Chief of Chittagong, proclaimed that the tract bounded by the Nizampur road (Dacca road), Kuki territory, the Feni and the Sungo rivers belonged to the Chakma Raja. Shukadeva, adopted son of Shermust Khan, became Raja in 1757 A.D. He took settlement of vast land, now called the Taraf Shukhader. He died childless and after him, Sherdoulat Khan, grand-son of Raja Fateh Khan (through his second son Rahamat Khan) became Raja in 1776 A.D. There was war between the English and the Chakmas during Sherdoulat Khan's rule. Two expeditions sent by the English under Mr. Lane and Mr. Turminers against the Chakmas were unsuccessful (*vide* Mr. Cottin's Revenue History of Chittagong). Janbux Khan was the son of Sherdoulat Khan, who became Raja in 1782. There were wars between the English and Janbux Khan in 1783, 1784 and 1785 A.D. The Raja went to Calcutta in 1787, asked pardon of the Governor General (Lord Cornwallis) and made peace with the British Government on promise of payment of 500 maunds of cotton.

Relation with
the British.

After the death of Janbux Khan, his eldest son, Tabbar Khan, became Raja in 1800 A.D. He dug a Sagar (the big *dighi* at Rajanagar). Tabbar Khan died childless. After his death, his brother, Jabbar Khan, became Raja in 1801 A.D. In 1812, his son, Dharambux Khan, became Raja who was also called Maharaja. Maharaja Dharambux Khan left no son. So Shuklal Dewan of Mulima class was appointed as a Managing Trustee. His management did not produce satisfactory results. So, Kalindi Ranee, the chief queen of Dharambux Khan, herself took the charge of the Estate affairs as a Trustee. By her able and good administration Kalindi Ranee extended the Zamindary. She built the Mahamuni temple, started the annual Mahamuni fair, dug the Mahamuni *dighi* and thus became immortal by various other pious works. During the Sepoy's War (1857), she caught and made over to the Government the sepoys who had been taken themselves to the hill to avoid retribution. In the Lushai expedition of 1871-72, the Ranee sent her grandson, Harish Chandra, who rendered valuable and loyal service to the British Government for which he received the title of Rai Bahadur.

Kalindi Ranee.

In 1873, Harish Chandra became Raja after the death of Kalindi Ranee. He was compelled by the Government to leave Rajanagar and live among his subjects at Rangamati. After the death of Roy Bahadur Harish Chandra in 1885 A.D., the zamindari and Chakma tracts were taken over by the Court of Wards, his eldest son, Kumar Bhuban Mohan, being a minor. Kumar Bhuban Mohan Roy became Raja on his attaining maturity in 1907. In the investiture, Sir John Woddburn, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, addressed him as follows:—

“You have on succession to the Chiefship of the Chakma clan of the Chittagong Hill Tracts received the title with which it is pleasant duty to invest you to-day. The Government look to you and the other chiefs of the hill tracts to assist in all measures which will contribute to the improvement of the condition of the hill tribes”.

Kumar Bhuban Mohan Roy died in 1936, leaving Raja Nalinaksha Roy as his successor. The latter was succeeded by Captain Kumar Tridiv Roy.

A short history
of the Mughhs.

Numerically and culturally, the Mughhs came second after the Chakmas. The Mughhs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts call themselves “Marma” which means “Bur ese” or the more popularly used “Mugh” a term which, as used by the Bengalese and English, has come to be synonymous with pirates. The Mughhs originally came from Arakan and even, according to some accounts, from as far south as Talaing or Pegu. By the end of the eighteenth century, as a result of the Burmese invasions, two-third of the population of Arakan is supposed to have fled to Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Chittagong Hill Tracts were originally occupied by the different tribes belonging to the Kuki group. The Chakmas and the Mughhs came into the area in comparatively recent times. The Chakmas were ousted by the Mughhs from Arakan and entered into the Hill Tracts. The Kuki tribes yielded to the Chakmas and went to the north-east. The Chakmas finally settled in the central and north-eastern portion of the Hill Tracts, while their former possession were absorbed by the Mughhs.

The Mughhs (Marmas) are divided into two groups, one in Mugh circle with about forty thousand persons, and the other in Bohmong circle with about fifty thousand persons. There are also a few thousand Mughhs in Chakma Circle. Those Mughhs who now inhabit the Mugh circle apparently were one of the groups of refugees driven out of Arakan by the Burmese invaders of 1783-84. They came through the Matamuhuri Valley and

first established themselves on the plains around Cox's Bazar, then moved northward to Sitakund between 1787 and 1800. By 1826, they had left the plains for their present homes in the interior of the hills.

The southern Mughs (Marma) came by a different route and at an earlier period. In 1799, the king of Arakan helped the Burmese to conquer Pegu and was rewarded with several thousand Talaing prisoners. Among them was the son of the king of Pegu who was later sent as Governor of Chittagong, where he was accompanied by a number of the other prisoners. His descendants continued to rule Chittagong as petty Rajas to several generations. The southern Marma claim that they are descendants of these Talaing rulers.

At present, the Mughs of both the Bohmong and Mugh circles are zealous Buddhists as well as animists. Their language is Maghi, a corruption of Arakanese-Burmese dialect, usually written in Burmese characters. In addition, they often speak Bengali, and some of them are able to write it. Although administratively they are a part of Pakistan and they live on very good terms with local authorities, they continue to regard Burma as the centre of their cultural life.

Each of the two Mugh groups has its own king. For the northern Group, most of whom belong to the Palengsa clan, he is the Chief of the Mugh circle. The villages to the north of Karnafuli river in the Ramgarh subdivision acknowledge the supremacy of the Mugh Rajah. The East India Company settled a Kapas Mahal (cotton farm) to the Mugh immigrants in 1782 and dealt with their Machai as their Chief. The revenue in kind (cotton) was substituted with an annual revenue of Rs.37.00 in 1793. In 1801, Konjai, son of the nephew of Machai, was recognised as Chief of Pangea Mughs who then numbered 387 families in this part of the district (Ramgarh). The present Chief is Kumar Komfru Sain.

The Mugh Raja
or Chief.

For the southern Mugh group, most of whom belong to the Rigrayesa clan, the Raja is the chief of the Bohmong circle. The villages to the south of the Karnafuli river are subject to the Bohmong (from the Arakanese "boh" a head, and, "mong" leader) whose residence is at Bundarban on the Sangu river. Mang Razaqi (1593-1612), King of Arakan, despatched in 1599, his governor, Mahapinna Yakyaw, who was then posted at Chittagong to attack Pegu in Burma in collaboration with the King of Burma and victory followed; the King of Arakan received 33,000 families of Talaing subjects together with the son and daughter of the vanquished King of Pegu. The

The Bohmong
Raja or Chief.

Arakanese King became enamoured of his fair young female captive and married her, and in 1614 deputed his brother-in-law of Pegu to this district as Governor. After three successions, Hario, the son of Angunya, became Governor of Chittagong, in 1710 and received the title of Bhomongri from the King of Arakan. Hario was succeeded by a grandson named Konglafru, his son Sadafru having died during his lifetime. Bohmong Konglafru was forced to seek shelter in Arakan in 1756 being dissatisfied with Muslim administration in the district. In 1774, owing to oppression from the Arakan Court, he returned with his followers to this district, when it was already ceded to the East India Company, established himself at Ramu, Eghar, and on the Matamuhuri river, finally settling at Max khal on the Sangu river in 1804. Bhomong Konglafru died in 1819 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sathanfru, who in 1822, removed his residence to Bandarban. A settlement was made with Sathanfru by which he paid Rs.4,600 annually as revenue for the Kapas Mahal.

Bhomong Sathanfru died childless in 1840, and there was a dispute for the succession between his three younger brothers, Monfru, Thoilafru and Satafru, finally necessitating the interference of Mr. Henry Ricketts, the Commissioner of Chittagong who in 1847 appointed Kamalaingya, a member of the family as the Bhomong, and granted a provisional settlement of the Kapas Mahal on a "Jama" of Rs.2,918, provided the Bhomong maintained a force sufficient for the protection of the frontier. Kamalaingya found the trails of office too much and resigned the Bohmongship in favour of his cousin, Momfru. In 1871, Momfru supplied coolies for Lushai expedition and received a reduction in the revenue *jama* payable to Government. In 1875, Sonaro (younger brother) succeeded him. He also supplied coolie for Lushai expedition of 1889-90 and received the Burmese title of '*Kyer they Zangsheweya Salway Yamin* (the King who wears the golden thread) and was presented with a golden chain. Sonaro died in 1902 and was succeeded by his nephew, Cholafru.



Pankhomen and women in festive dress, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

The total population enumerated in the 1961 Census was **Population**, 3,85,079, of which 2,12,218 were males and 1,72,861 females. The population enumerated in 1951 Census was 2,87,688, of which 1,53,588 were males and 1,34,100 females. The percentage of increase during the 10 years between 1951 and 1961 works out at 34. The percentage of increase among the males is 20 and among the females 14. The following table indicates the population growth in the district during the period from 1901 to 1961:

Total population and variation from 1901-1961.

Year.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.	1941.	1951.	1961.
Population ..	1,24,762	1,53,830	1,73,243	2,12,922	2,47,053	2,87,274	3,85,079
Increase/decrease of population over preceding Census.	..	29,068	19,413	39,679	34,131	40,221	97,805
Percentage of increase/decrease over preceding Census.	..	23.2	12.6	22.9	16.0	16.3	34.0

The urban and rural distribution of the population is **Urban & Rural Population** indicated below:

		Population		Percentage.
		1961.	1951.	1961.
Total ...	...	3,85,079	2,87,688	100.00
Rural ...	...	3,62,275	2,87,688	94.07
Urban	...	22,804	Nil	5.93

The areas classified as urban in the district in the 1961 Census are Rangamati, Kaptai and Chandraghona.

In respect of urbanisation, the district has registered an increase of 100 per cent over the decennial period (1951-1961), which shows the extent of mobility due to industrialisation, colonisation of new land and better educational facilities.

Density.

The average density of population per square mile in the district works out at 76. The position of the district in respect of population is the last in East Pakistan.

The following table shows the population of the district by area, subdivision, thana and persons per square mile in 1961:

Locality.	Area in square mile.	Population.	Persons per square mile.
1. Chittagong Hill Tracts district	5,093	3,85,079	76
2. Ramgarh Subdivision	1,727	1,35,134	78
3. Ramgarh Thana	349	36,786	105
4. Mahalchari Thana	402	52,595	131
5. Dighinala Thana	976	45,853	46
6. Rangamati Subdivision	1,601	1,63,523	102
7. Rangamati Thana	664	66,264	103
8. Chandraghona Thana	266	48,184	181
9. Barkal Thana	510	34,311	67
10. Langadu Thana	181	14,764	82
11. Bandarban Subdivision	1,765	86,422	49
12. Bandarban Thana	346	29,013	84
13. Ruma Thana	514	21,591	42
14. Lama Thana	724	21,329	29
15. Naikhongchhari Thana	181	14,489	80

General routine of the people.

There is a fair distribution of working element among the two sexes of the tribal people throughout the year. Following Calendar shows the distribution:

Men.	Women.	Both.
Ploughing	Handlooms	Clearing
Cutting jhum	Weaving	Planting
Sowing	Dyeing	Harvesting
Basket-making	Sweeping	Care of the children
Wood work	Collecting fuel	
Mats	Cooking	Cattle.
Cradles	Keeping the household equipment.	
Fencing		
Tool making		Fishing by draining streams with dams and baskets.
Milking		
Hunting (four guns in the village)		
Net fishing		
Trap fishing.		

These duties divided as they are between the two sexes and concerned with agriculture or otherwise, succeed one another in an annual cycle:

Month.	Flat land.	Jhum land.	Other.
January ..	Storing paddy from threshing floor. Cultivation of paddy land with plough and harrow. Harvesting of mustard.	Cutting the forest from Jhum, keeping best bamboo.	House building and repairs. Women get fuel, do basket work. Women gin, spin, dye and weave cotton (some yarn purchased).
February ..	Harvesting and threshing of mustard. Harvesting of tobacco, chillies, potatoes, vegetables.	Cutting jhum.	
March ..	Sowing of Aus (B.C. and Top) Ploughing of rabi land for jute (not all).		
April ..	Ploughing and sowing jute rice.	Burning of jhum	Construction of jhumiya huts.
May ..	Some top rice (sowing of Aman seed beds).	Planting of jhum with first rains.	Too busy planting.
June ..	Aus harvesting, ploughing and top of Aman. After ploughing and harrowing.	Planting continues activity.	No weaving.
July ..	....	Weeding, harvesting vegetables, brinjals, etc.	
August ..	Jute cutting, retting and drying.	Harvesting vegetables, early rice, cotton and til.	
September ..	Preparation of rabi land for sowing mustard, onion, chillies, radish, peas, cucumber, brinjal, tobacco, etc.	Later rice cutting	Cutting of bamboo and sungrass for sale.
November ..	Aman harvesting and ploughing.	Jhum finished, reverts to weeds.	Weaving begins.

Banjogis and Pankhos have gongs and drums. While dancing, men wear feather on their heads and beads and amber round their necks, and women wear nice-looking brass girdles and jingling ornaments made from the wings of coloured insects. Amber is one of their chief possessions and handed down from generation to generation.

Dancing and Music.

The Mros and the Mrungs (Tipras) are extremely fond of music and dance. They play bag-pipes, made from gourd or pumpkin, into which long reed pipes of different lengths are inserted. They also use a two-sided drum played by hand.

The dancers wear dark blue or red clothes and put on jingling anklets of aluminium to keep tune and produce a musical effect of their foot work. They bedeck themselves with flowers and beads and put on wide patches of red paint on their cheeks and forehead, and stain the lips and teeth with a pink pigment. In a dance performance, usually half a dozen unmarried girls and a dozen or so instrumental players participate. Married women do not dance. The dancers, followed by instrument players, form a circle and move with slow steps around a central object. The dancers change their steps while moving in a circle; at times they also face the musicians in a single file and dance by taking forward and backward steps in turn.

Among the Chakma, the *Gonkhuli* are a sort of minstrels who go from village to village. Their songs or tales would be of importance for the study of legends. They may contain certain historical elements. Among the Chakma the minstrels have two main epics: *Chadiganj Shara* (how we left Chittagong) and *Radhamohon* (the story of the Chakma "General" and his girls).

Migration.

As a result of the construction of the Kaptai Dam, over one lakh people were uprooted from their homes in Karnafuli and Maini valleys as they fell in the reservoir area. They constitute more than one quarter of the total population of the district. According to the survey undertaken by the Rehabilitation Officer, about 10,000 ploughing families, having land in the reservoir bed and 8,000 landless *jhumiya* families comprising more than one lakh people were displaced. The reservoir submerged a vast area comprising 125 *mouzas*, including a major portion of the district headquarters at Rangamati, approximately 94 miles of Government road, and a large number of bazars and some schools, dispensaries and places of worship. The inundation threw over 54,000 acres of plough land out of cultivation. This area constitutes 40 per cent. of the total settled cultivable land of the district. The fertile valleys of the district, viz., Karnafuli, Chengi, Kassalong and Maini have been inundated.

Compensation.

The people affected by the Dam were paid adequate compensation for the loss of their lands, trees and structures. A scheme costing Rs. 1,96,00,000 drawn up for rehabilitation of the displaced population, was approved by the Government in November, 1959, and work started in the same year. This was followed by a supplementary rehabilitation scheme, to cost Rupees one hundred and eight lakhs and was taken up in 1966.

The first and foremost problem before the Rehabilitation organisation was how to find enough lands for the uprooted and landless tribal population, much of the cultivable lands having been submerged. Two types of families had to be taken care of, families who had been used to plough cultivation and secondly, landless people who depended on *jhuming* shifting cultivation. After a fairly vigorous search it had been possible to settle with the displaced persons about 20,000 acres of flat cultivable land of a somewhat inferior quality, as against the loss of 54,000 acres of plough land, which meant a net loss of 34,000 acres of land. The largest concentration of the rehabilitated population is at Marishya in Kassalong Valley, where 10,000 acres of flat land were found by dereserving 40 square miles of the reserved forest and 3,734 families were settled there. The other rehabilitation areas are in Chengi Valley and the non-submerged areas of Ramgarh, Bandarban and Rangamati subdivisions. A total of 11,761 families including 9,201 ploughing families had been rehabilitated up to 1965-66.

It is estimated that the average land-holding of the 10,000 families, having permanent rights to land in the reservoir bed, comprised six acres. These displaced families could be provided with hardly two acres of land on an average in the new settlements in the non-submerged and dereserved areas.

Where it was not possible to rehabilitate the displaced families with flat land, rehabilitation has been by settlement of hill-side land for plantations. Over 3,000 families who had lands in the reservoir area could not be allotted lands in the non-submerged areas. So they were encouraged to take to mixed plantation on hill sides, mainly in the vicinity of the reservoir. The families who could not be given sufficient flat lands were also encouraged and assisted to supplement their income by establishing mixed plantations on hill slopes. Of the affected families 6,310 have been settled on hill tops within the submerged area. These families were initiated into plantation programme for their economic rehabilitation.

It was indeed a very hard task for the Rehabilitation organisation to convince the hillmen that hill-side gardening would be an economic proposition. The plantation programme has served dual purpose; the primary purpose was rehabilitation of displaced families. Secondly, as time passed it was felt it could gradually replace *jhuming*. Mr S. B. Hatch Barnwell, C.S.P., rightly remarked "While I do not think that the income from such quick growing crops is at present enough to make *jhuming* dispensable for a family, at any rate it does relieve the

pressure a good deal. Where long term crops have been successful, it is reasonable to hope that the two in combination will provide sufficient livelihood to make *jhuming* ultimately unnecessary to such families, provided the areas planted is sufficient and cultivation is efficient".

Captain Lewin, an authority on the tribal people of the district, broadly classified the tribes living in this district into two heads, viz., *Toungtha* (children of the hills) and *Khyoungtha* (children of the rivers). The Census of 1951 gives the following tribal break-up :

I. Kuki group:	Kuki: 1,972; Lushai: 1,369; Pankho: 627; Banjogi: 977;
Toungtha or Ancient tribes.	Mro: 16,121; Khyan 1,300; Kumi: 1,951.
II. Tipra Group:	Tipra (Mrung): 37,246; Tanchangya: 8,313; Rieng: 1,011.
Khyoungtha Domiciled tribes.	Mugh (Marma): 65,889 and Chakma: 1,24,762.

Tribal break-up of 1961 Census is not available.

Chakmas.

Chakmas are known as *Thek* by the Burmese, and *Tui-Thik* by the Kukis. The Chakma tribes are scattered throughout the district, but a majority of them live in Rangamati Sadar subdivision (Chakma Circle). In 1901 there were 44,329 Chakmas, but increased to 1,24,762 in 1951. Chakmas have an auxiliary tribe known as Tangchangyas. Tang hangyas (Toung-jinya) immigrated from Arakan in 1818 during the period of the Chakma Chief Dharam Fakhsh Khan, and took up their abode on hill tops. They originally numbered 4,000. They spoke a dialect slightly different from those of Chakmas. Their women dress differently from Chakma women and the age of the bride is generally more than that of the bridegroom. Unmarried men and women can mix freely.

They are subdivided into seven *gozas* (administrative units), namely, *Dunya*, *Karnu*, *Muo Mongla*, *Lambacha* and *Mollongea*.

The Chakmas were originally settled in India under the protection of the Arakan king in southern Chittagong. They immigrated to this district, intermarried largely with the Bengalees, while living in southern Chittagong, whose language they speak.

The Chakma is of medium stature and thick-set build with fair complexion and a cheerful, honest-looking face. Physically he is a finer specimen of manhood than the Mugh. He possesses none of the hereditary laziness of the latter, and although his independence will prevent him from working as a menial for others, yet he works exceedingly hard to further his own interests.



A Chakma dance, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

He possesses a retentive memory, grasps details quickly and appreciates the advantage that can be secured by industry. As a tribe they are stolid, argumentative and stubborn, but on the whole truthful. Though addicted to drinking, they do not smoke to excess. The *hookah* takes the place of the Mugh cheroot, *pan* is chewed; but neither *ganja* nor opium is taken. In dress they resemble the Bengalees and wear a white turban with coat and *dhotee*. The upper classes wear white socks and European pattern of shoes. The higher class Chakma is decidedly an intellectual man, an excellent manager and of thrifty habit. The superior advantage of plough cultivation, with its steady rotation of crops, are very apparent to him, and in its favour he is abandoning the primitive cultivation of the *jhum*.

The Chakma woman has fair complexion and a well-developed figure, but is otherwise heavy and uninteresting. The leaven of Hinduism is noticeable amongst the upper classes, who seclude their womenfolk. The Chakma woman brushes her hair back and ties it in a loose knot at the back of the head; the neck and shoulders are bare, and a strip of red cloth which covers the bosom is attached to the petticoat, a garment of homespun cloth dyed dark blue with a deep red border at the bottom. The combined garment is worn tightly wrapped round the body and twisted in at the waist and reaches almost to the ankles. She wears a turban of white homespun cloth called *kabong*. Chakma women.

A Chakma woman's ornaments consist of silver earrings, necklaces, bracelets and anklets. There are three varieties of necklaces one of massive make worn close round the neck, the other a band of filigree work in silver, reaching below the breasts, the third consisting of rupee coins strung on black thread and numbering from fifteen to thirty.

The worship of Siva and Kali crept into their ritual. It may be safely assumed that the attempt to connect themselves with the *Kshatriyas* of Bihar originated at this time.

The Chakmas now form a settled tribe, and the same village site is occupied by them from generation to generation. Several of the wealthier headmen have built themselves houses of a permanent nature, but the majority of the tribe are quite content to occupy houses built in the hill fashion, which are eminently suited to the requirements of the country. House.

These houses are built entirely of bamboo with a *machan* floor raised six feet above the ground. The house is divided into compartments, and the requirements of the married members of the family are first attended to. In the event of several

families living together, the rooms are apportioned in due order of seniority. For instance, in a family of which three members are married, the house will be divided by mat walls into four compartments. The outer one reserved for the unmarried male members or visitors, and is called *pinagudi*, the next compartment will go to the eldest male representative of the family with his wife, the third room to the second eldest and the fourth to the youngest married member. Each room fifteen feet in length, including the *ochaleng* or back verandah, which is from five feet to seven feet in breadth. When laying out the compartments, the house is divided breadthwise, taking the centre of ridge pole of the house as the line of division on which to mark out the family quarters, which are in the back, while the front portion is reserved as the bachelors' quarters and kitchen. In front of the house is a verandah which is divided into two by a mat partition for the use of the males and females respectively. In front of the verandah is a big open space or raised platform, used for various household purposes. Small compartments may be erected on this for the storage of grain, cotton, or household effects, but as a rule the grain is stored away from the house for safety, in case of fire. A rough step-ladder gives access to this open space and forms the entrance to the house. This space will generally be enclosed with a bamboo mat wall, three or four feet high to prevent the small children from falling over. Shocking accidents occur sometimes when this precaution has been neglected. The back verandah of the house is also used for storage purposes, while the front is used to sit in and for the women to weave in. A Chakma house is usually broader than its length justifies. This description of a Chakma house is applicable with slight modification to all hillmen's houses.

Marriage customs.

It is not obligatory to marry within the tribe, but this applies to men alone. A Chakma woman marrying outside her tribe is unknown. The sects or *gozas*, as they are called in the Chakma language, may intermarry freely.

When a Chakma lad has reached a marriageable age, his parents or guardians will fix on a suitable girl and negotiations are opened with her parents through an intermediary. Should these prove successful, the girl's parents proceed to the intended bride's house taking with them a bottle of wine. They carry on a conversation on general topics and then retire. They make a second visit a few days later, taking with them another bottle of wine; further conversation ensues, but all mention of the intended match is studiously avoided. A third and final visit is made, this time with wine, cooked fowl and rice cakes.

On this occasion all reserve is broken down, and the important topic of matrimony is introduced. The details are settled and the date of the ceremony is fixed. On the day preceding the marriage the bridegroom's party take with them presents together with clothes and jewellery and march to the strains of festive music to the bride's house.

That night the bride is adorned with her new clothes and jewellery and the whole night is given up to festivities, the bridegroom coming in for much chafe from the girl-friends of the bride. The next day, after the morning meal, the bridegroom's party escort the bride to his house, and in the evening the actual ceremony takes place. The bride and the bridegroom are made to sit together, and two of their relations, a man and a woman, will bind the couple together with a white cloth with the consent of all present. The bride has then to place cooked rice and a prepared *pan* (betel-leaf and nut) in the mouth of the bridegroom and he has to do the same to her. As soon as the cloth is loosened, both spring up, and if the wife is first on her feet she will always possess unbounded influence over the affections of her husband. They are now considered duly married but the young couple must revisit the wife's village or house, where another and final feast is held. The marriage price is determined by the social condition of the contracting parties, but the average price paid for the bride is seventy-five rupees, or the equivalent of a five-pound note. The bride's family will spend this amount feasting, while the bridegroom's little bill for hospitality will run to double the amount. Among influential headmen no price is demanded for the girl, but very large sums of money are spent on both sides in feasting the community. There is also marriage by elopement, but in these cases the parents of the girl can demand her restitution on three separate occasions. If the ardent lover can successfully bring off a fourth elopement, he has secured the prize and won his wife.

When a Chakma woman has been pregnant for five to seven months, the *pūja* of *jang sala* is performed. During pregnancy the woman is allowed to eat anything she fancies, and special care is taken to carry out her wishes. Birth rites.

When the child is born the husband brings basketful of earth and spreads it near the bed and lights a fire on it; this fire is not allowed to go out for five days. After this the earth is thrown away, and the mother and child are bathed in water, to which some medicinal herbs are added. The woman is impure for a whole month after child-birth, and is not

allowed to cook during this period. Children are suckled to a considerable age by their mothers. As is the practice amongst the other hill tribes, no woman will suckle another woman's child, even in the event of the mother being seriously ill. If a woman dies during pregnancy, her body is cut open and the foetus removed and buried, while the body of the woman is burnt. This practice exists also amongst the Mughs and Tipras and is doubtless borrowed from the Hindus, amongst whom this hideous duty devolves on the husband, or failing him on a younger brother.

Death rites.

The dead are burned by the river bank, except in the case of a death from cholera or small-pox, when the corpse is buried. The death rites are as follows: The corpse is washed and dressed and laid out on a new bamboo bier, the relatives and villagers come and visit the body day and night and a drum with a peculiar note (only used on such occasions) is beaten at intervals. There is no fixed period for keeping the body. When it is taken to the burning-ghat it is carried by four men, and afternoon is selected for this purpose. At the funeral pyre the priest goes through some prayers and the pyre will then be lighted, first by the priest, then by the nearest blood relative and finally all present will assist. The corpse of a man is laid on five layers of wood with the head pointing to the east, while that of a woman is laid on seven layers of wood with the head to the west.

When the corpse has been reduced to ashes the mourners go down to the water and after washing themselves return home.

The following morning the burning place is revisited, the calcined remnants of bone are collected and placed in an earthen pot and thrown into the river by the nearest blood relative. Mourning will be observed for six days, during which time no blood relation may touch fish or meat of any sort. On the seventh morning the burning place is again visited and a complete meal with wine is laid out for the departed spirit. The place is enclosed with a fine bamboo fence, tall bamboo with cloth streamers attached are hoisted, and if there is a priest present, prayers are recited.

The *sraddha* ceremony is observed for both sexes, and in the case of the wealthy is kept up for some years. The Chakmas are very particular in observing it, and the members of the family to the most distant connections will assemble on such occasion.

The main ornaments used by the Chakma woman are as follows:

Hairpin—*Charang*, or *charuk*, with a chain *chulaphul* (hair flower), earring, *zamuli*, *karnaphul* or *kajaphul*, *raj-jur*, *kanphul*, etc. Ornaments.

Necklace and chain—*Cheek*, *bazuli*, *telahari chara*, *hal chara*, *tenga chara*, *pijichara* (beads), etc.

Armlets—*Taj-jur*, *baju*.

Bangles—*Kuji kharu*, *balakharu*, *babu*, ivory bangle.

Nose-pins—*Sona noth*, *nakphul*.

Almost all the ornaments are made of silver, a few of gold.

We can compare with Levi-Strauss, about the Chakma from the following account:

“Theoretically marriage is prohibited within seven generations. In practice it is allowed when no traceable relationship exists within the preceding three or four generations and some informations stated marriage can take place with father’s sister’s daughter, mother’s brother’s daughter, and mother’s sister’s daughter”.*

“Among the Chakma, when a child is born, they fire a shot gun: an even number of shots if it is a boy, an odd number if it is a girl. Since the days of Arakanese king, Ali Khan (1434-59), because of his father’s asylum in the court of Muslim Sultan of Gaur, Muslim names and culture appear to have influenced the Arakanese Buddhists. As the Mughls and Chakmas came to this district *via* Arakan, we notice adoption of Muslim names and cultural influence of Islam in the official seal of Chakma Chief in the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts. There is no wonder we came across the names like Jabbar Khan, Fateh Khan, Shermast Khan, Rahmat Khan, Sherjan Khan, Jan Buksh Khan among Chakma Chiefs. Even ladies in Chakma Chief family had names ending with Bior Bibi. Hari Bibi are names which we often came across with the captured. Even guns were named as Fateh Khan and Kalu Khan. Chakmas used the word *Salam* for salutation, and *Khoda* as synonym for God” (*Chakmajati* by Satish Chandra Ghosh). Fateh Khan’s seal had been inscribed with *Hijri* year, 1137, in Persian character. Even the seal of Shukheda Rai bearing Mugh Calendar has Persian inscription. Raja Jan Bakhsh and Jabbar Khan had seal with Persian inscription. Persian inscription on Jabbar Khan’s seal bore,

*Levi-Strauss, *Kinship Systems*, loc. Cit. p. 24.

"Shri Shri Jai Kali Jay Narayan Jabbar Khan 1163". The Persian seal of Dharam Baksh bore, "Jai Kali Shahai Dharam Bakhsh Khan". Another seal of Chakma Chief bore *Allah Rabbi*.

Mughhs (Marma). The Mughhs, who prefer to call themselves Marma, are scattered throughout the district. The majority occupy the Bandarban subdivision, south of the river Karnafuli. Their Chief is known as Bohmong. In 1901 the total strength of the Mughhs was 31,900, of which 18,098 were males and 16,608 females. In 1961 they increased to 65,880.

The Mughhs (Marma) are for the most part descendants of the Arakanese who had fled there, when their own country was overrun by the Burmese in 1784. They are generally divided into three sections, the Jhumiya or cultivators of *jhum*, the Rong or Arakan Mughhs and the Burma or Rajbansi Mughhs. They describe themselves by the various titles of Maramagri, Bhuiya Mugh and Jhumiya Mugh, and it is with the latter that we are concerned in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Though the Mughhs (Marma) originally came from Arakan and administratively they are a part of Pakistan, they continue to regard Burma as the centre of their cultural life. Most of the Mughhs stay close to streams and valleys and some of them are settled in plains.

Personal traits. A Mugh, if well-to-do, is extremely indolent and will only do such work as he is compelled to do. Given a sufficient number of cheroots and *pan*, and a comfortable spot on which to recline, he is quite content to laze away the whole day. With the poorer class the case is, however different; for though the same tendency exists in them, it has little time for development. To secure a bare livelihood he must devote the greater portion of the year to work of a most arduous nature and this, too, under most unfavourable circumstances, especially during the exceedingly inclement rainy season. He can, however, be trusted not to do a stroke more than the necessities of the family life require. The Mugh is a happy-go-lucky fellow, easily pleased and of a most independent nature. There is no cringing about him, and he is quite prepared to render respect where such is due. Though addicted to drink and opium, he is not in any way a debased specimen of manhood. He has a ready wit, a full appreciation of humour, and can pay a pretty compliment with the best of words. He is also of a poetical nature and can turn out crisp lines, full of local colour and apt rhyme. He has a child's love for anything bright, especially flowers, and they occupy a very important position in his devotions and



A Mugh dance, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

love passages. In the matter of dress his tastes are simple. He will wear a turban of white cloth, which he adjusts in a way peculiar to himself, a white or black short jacket with long loose sleeves buttoned or tied at the neck, and a cloth of some sort of soft cotton material reaching from the waist to below the knee. This cloth among the well-to-do will be of silk, coloured in extremely pretty tartans and is called a *lungi*. Shoes are rarely worn, save amongst those of high social position. Though generally of cleanly habit the Mughls allow their hair to become very filthy. Both sexes allow their hair to grow long, and seldom wash it.

The use of false hair among both men and women is common; it is planted in at the back to make the knot look bigger. The Mugh girl is a most fascinating little body, possessing a very pleasing face. She dresses very neatly at all times, but is particularly bright on festive occasions. The hair is taken up from behind and dressed in a knot on the top of the head; into this knot are thrust silver combs and hairpins, while a bright flower will generally be placed coquettishly on one side. On state occasions a coloured silk handkerchief will be bound carelessly round the head. The neck and shoulders are exposed, and a well worked and ornamented home spun cloth about ten inches in width is wound tightly round the bosom. They wear a petticoat of cotton or silk. This is without tie or fastening, but is brought round the waist, with the edges well twisted in, and kept on by the graceful curve of the hips. These two simple garments complete her everyday attire, and in spite of its quiet simplicity she always appears well-dressed. For ornaments they wear gold or silver bracelets and necklaces, and hollow coins of silver through the lobes of the ear. This is a favourite place to wear flowers or carry a spare cheroot, for the women are as inveterate smokers as the men.

If we judge them by our ideas, the standard of morality Morals. among them is low. Chaste maiden life is a very rare exception, and no sense of shame or wrong is ever attached to the lives that these young girls live. But whatever her faults may have been as a maiden, when she is married, chastity is the rule, and it is rare to hear of an unfaithful wife. The Mugh woman has the maternal instinct very strongly developed and is passionately fond of her children. This fondness is common to both sexes and leads to the children being terribly spoilt; indeed they early pass entirely beyond parental control. From marriage onwards the life of the average Mugh woman is one of constant toil and self-denial, and she will only find rest in death.

In addition to her many and varied household cares and the duties and anxieties of maternity, she will have to work through all weather in the field, sowing, weeding, harvesting, fetching and caring for her indolent husband and devoting any spare time she may snatch, weaving cloth for home use. As she gets older and less comely, her duties become more arduous, till finally at old age she is systematically neglected, and the rising generations take no trouble to conceal the fact that they consider her continued presence in the family circle a nuisance. The end comes at last and she is hurried away to the burning-ghat, where an extra couple of layers of wood are supplied to the funeral pyre in recognition of her position as the general provider for the family. The old of both sexes are treated with scant respect, indeed are much neglected and considered as useless encumbrances.

Religion.

The religion of the Mugh is Buddhism but it is much mixed up with animism, and he propitiates a great variety of malevolent and evil spirits which are credited with the power of influencing his life and actions. There is in the Mugh a great depth of religious sentiment, and you will never find him joke on such matters or make any irreverent allusion to his priests. It is to be regretted that the principles for teetotalism as prescribed by the great sage Buddha, find little favour with the Mugh, who is addicted to the use of opium and to excess in drinking.

Marriage.

Marriage is practically for adult, though cases occur, amongst the higher classes, of marriage before the age of puberty is reached; but such marriages are exceedingly rare. As a rule the girl marries about the age of sixteen and those men who can afford it will marry before reaching the age of twenty. The marriage ceremony among the higher ranks of the people is as follows:

The girl having been selected, a relation or friend of the bridegroom is sent to her parents to broach the subject. If they approve, fresh intermediaries are sent, but they must go in odd number—one, three, five or seven. They must be males, either married or single, but neither a widower nor one who has married a widow. They take a bottle of liquor with them and after a discussion another date is fixed for meeting. This time the intermediaries appear with some cooked yams and *sutki* or dried fish and boiled fowl, which must have met its death by strangulation. A day is now fixed on which both parties must dream over the coming auspicious event. On dream-day the intending bride and bridegroom after bathing and prayer, retire to rest in the hope that auspicious dreams for the future may be their respective lot. In the event of the future bride

not having reached a mature age, the dreaming must be done by proxy, that is, by her mother, or the nearest female blood relation.

The dream of anything white, of flowers, of climbing trees or mountains, or of crossing a river or stream is considered auspicious; while it is unlucky to dream of broken *khalis* or water-pots, of anything red in colour or of weeping persons. At the dawn of the following day the relations collect at the respective homes to hear the dreams and to interpret them as favourably as possible. A few days before the ceremony the father of the bride will give a list of all his relatives residing in the village to the bridegroom's father or guardian. The latter is then required to send to the house of each person named in the list a cooked fowl, a bottle of liquor and a rupee. Formerly the rupee was given as a present; but now a day it has to be returned, and to avoid any possible mistake only one rupee is sent forth to go the round of the relatives, thus materially lessening the marriage expenditure. Two days before the marriage a pig and five fowls are sacrificed in the afternoon to propitiate *Chung-mong-ley*, the household deity. That evening new clothes are presented to the bride and bridegroom and these have to be selected with the aid of astrology, in order that choice of colour may accord with the significance attached to the birthday of the contracting parties. A priest, or *Thang-pora*, attends the bridegroom at this robing ceremony. When that is finished, guns are fired, fireworks are let off, feasting and drinking commence, and the night is turned into a regular Saturnalia. The bridegroom dons the *magay*, an erection made of *solapith* in shape like a Pagoda and ornamented with tinsel and coloured paper, presides in a more or less maudlin state of intoxication over the festivities in his house. In the meantime the unmarried lads of the village have prepared a booth outside the bride's house. This has to be finished within a day, and the workers are entitled to a good meal from the bride's house for their trouble. The marriage day at last approaches, and the bridegroom, seated on an ornamented stretcher with a friend or groomsman on either side, is carried by sixteen bearers to the bride's house and deposited at the booth. Here the bridegroom and his groomsman take their seats and spend the afternoon in exchanging toasts with all the relatives of the bride.

During the night the bridegroom and groomsman resume their places on the stretcher, and are carried round all the houses in the village, and the bridegroom, who has to accept their hospitality, returns much the worse for drink to his own

house. Next morning he is again carried to the booth, where a couple of hours have to be spent in meditation, otherwise an attempt to regain sobriety, and then with his party he approaches the steps leading to the bride's house. The father or nearest male relative will oppose his advance and make a feigned effort to prevent him, from ascending the steps; but the bridegroom courageously perseveres and is again met by the bride's brother or first cousin, who throws himself into the breach and with a small stick makes valiant pretence of striking the bridegroom seven times. But it is useless; the brave bridegroom, not to be repulsed, secures his position, and the brother making the best of necessity, gives him a helping hand and pulls him on to the platform which stands outside the house. On this platform a mat has been spread, and on the mat some forty pounds of paddy or unhusked rice has been piled, flanked on either side with an earthen pot filled with water, and having flowers and leaves inside each. The bridegroom is made to stand near the heap of paddy, while his chief groomsmen enter the house. He soon reappears carrying the blushing bride struggling in his arms, and places her to the left of the bridegroom. An old man now steps forward and sprinkles the couple five or seven times with water taken from the water pots, while the groom links the right hand little finger of the bridegroom with the corresponding left hand finger of the bride. Then with their little fingers still linked, they are escorted to the house and seated on cushions. Here the old man, after sprinkling more water on the linked hands, gently separates them. The couple are now presented with food served on separate earthen plates, it emptied into one plate, and out of this they both eat.

When the meal is finished they rise and together make obeisance, first to the parents of the bride and then to the parents of the bridegroom. After this a small quantity of parched rice is set in front of them and the bridegroom taking few grains will place some on the bride's head and also on his own. The relatives of the happy couple now press forward, congratulate them, and make various offerings. The feasting then becomes general and a very large quantity of liquor is consumed. The unfortunate bridegroom is the butt of jests from the female friends of the bride, while his male acquaintances do not neglect to offer him all manner of advice as to how to comfort himself in his married state. Between seven and eight in the evening the young couple manage to make their escape and retire to the bridegroom's house, and the marriage is consummated. Any food that may be left over after the young couple have finished their meal is carefully preserved and on the next morning

is taken forth and buried amidst loud shouting and beating of drums. The paddy used in the initial stage of the ceremony has to be carefully preserved and must be sown in the first *jhum*, or cultivation, made by the young married couple.

In ordinary cases the succession goes to the eldest son, and in a division of property, where there are several sons, one-half goes to the eldest son, one-quarter to the youngest son, and the other sons share the remaining quarter among them. If there are only two sons, the elder would receive five-eighths of the estate and three-eighths would fall to the younger. The above arrangement only holds good where the parent has made no assignment of his property during his life time. Any division may thus be made would be respected and considered binding on his heirs. Law of Inheritance.

In the event of there being no direct male heirs, the succession follows in the female line. The succession to the tribal chiefship or Bohmong is the next eldest male blood relative, and does not follow in the direct line.

The Mughs burn their dead at a common burning place called the burning ghat. The dead-body is placed on the funeral pyre with its head to the north. A man is placed on three layers of wood and a woman on five layers, the extra layers being bestowed as compliment to the sex who, during their lifetime, attend to all the household duties. Death rites.

In the event of death being due to cholera or small-pox, the body will be buried in the neighbourhood of the burning-ground, and in the case of the well-to-do the remains are disinterred on the cessation of the outbreak, or after a month or two, and are then burned. The dead body is washed by old people of the same sex as the corpses. It is then dressed in new clothes and laid out on the floor in the centre of the house. A bamboo bed is made and the body is placed upon it, while a priest recites certain prayers. At the moment when the corpse is laid upon this bed, a gun is fired, or bomb exploded, to intimate that the person is indeed dead. A coffin is prepared in the meantime, and when ready the body is placed within it and put back on the bed. An ornamented funeral car is prepared, and on the top hovers a huge bird made of bamboo frame-work and covered with coloured paper. The bird is called *hathi linga* or elephant bird. At the appointed time the coffin is placed in the car under the bird, and is dragged by willing hands to the site of the funeral pyre erected at the

common burning-ground. The priests in their saffron coloured robes head the procession, and the mourners follow with bare heads, to the accompaniment of much drum-beating.

Before the coffin is removed to the funeral pyre, four very stout and long ropes made out of bamboo are attached, two in front and two at the back of the car. At a given signal the crowd rushes forward and seizes the ropes and pulls violently in opposite directions, a veritable tug-of-war. The car sways backwards and forwards, the *hathi linga* plunges up and down like a small boat in a heavy swell at sea, and it appears as though the coffin must be hurled into the midst of the excited crowd. Finally one side is victorious and triumphantly drags away the car, but this is generally arranged for by keeping a reserve of men belonging to the deceased's own sect, and these men, by pre-arrangement, join one side and assure to it the victory. This violent exercise is supposed to be symbolical of struggle of the evil spirits for the possession of the soul but finally the spirit of the *hathi linga* flies away with it to some sacred spot in the distant Himalayan Range. The tradition asserts that, in old days, a huge bird actually descended and removed the corpse itself and flew away with it to the abode of peace in the Himalayas. The coffin is finally placed on the pyre, when the lid is slightly opened and a portion of the head cloth is drawn out and allowed to fall to the ground, the priest recites more prayers, and then the nearest blood relation sets fire to the pyre. Simultaneously the mourners light hundreds of miniature torches, made of pieces of cloth soaked in oil and attached to slips of bamboo. These have been stocked into the stems of plantain trees, which have been placed in the ground round the funeral pyre; these torches burn brightly for a few seconds and then flicker out, doubtless symbolical of the brief span of the light of life.

Long streamers of white muslin cut in curious lace-like patterns and attached to long bamboos are also hoisted near the spot. As soon as the pyre is lighted the priests remove themselves to a shelter prepared in the neighbourhood of the burning place, and the mourners resume their head gear. The head priest recites more prayers and the chief mourners, kneeling before him, give the responses. They then make offerings according to their means, and light refreshments in the way of betel nut are handed round amongst the crowd. Shortly after the priests remove themselves and the crowd slowly breaks up, leaving the all devouring flames to work their will on the poor clay. The following morning water is poured on the hot ashes and any calcined fragments of bone that may remain are collected



A man of Tipra tribe having all the handmade clothes, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

and placed in a new earthen vessel and thrown into the river. In the event of death occurring on the last day of the month or on one of the festival dates, the body must be burnt on that very day. As a general rule, however, the body may be kept for seven days in the house.

The Tipras are scattered throughout the district. Bulk of Tipras. them are undoubtedly of aborigines and original tribes of the district. They were 23,331 in number in 1901 and 37,246 in 1951. In 1872 they were counted 8,100 (including Mrung) majority of whom were concentrated in Mong Raja circle. They are divided in two groups, *Puranas* and *Jamatyas*. They are subdivided into the following subcastes :

Hapang-Jamatya (or *Achlong-Phadong*), *Naitong Husoi*
Naotya, Jakler, Kewar, Tombi, Dainkak and Garbing.

*Garbing*s form the majority among the Tipra tribe. W. W. Hunter treated Riang also as a clan of the Tipras and Mrungs were counted with Tipras in the 1872 Census.

The sects may intermarry freely, and there is no objection Marriage. to matrimony outside the limits of the tribe. Marriage is settled by the parents. When a suitable girl has been selected, two friends are sent to her house with two bottles of liquor; they settle all details, including the date of marriage. No price is paid, but a large amount is spent on feasting and the bridegroom has to take up his abode for two years in the bride's house and become a member of her family, during which time he must work with and for the family. The whole of the cotton crop of the *jhum* is reserved for his benefit to enable him to buy things for himself, so that at the expiry of the two years he may set up his own home. During this period the couple live together as man and wife.

Divorce can be arranged by mutual consent, but should Divorce. either party wish to separate without due reason, they must pay Rs.126 as compensation and provide a pig for the community.

If during the father's life-time the eldest son separate's Succession. himself from the family, and starts a home on his own account, he forfeits all claims to inheritance of the property, which descends to the younger son. If, however, he elects to remain in his father's house, he inherits everything and the younger sons get no share whatever.

With the exception that the men are taller, there is but slight difference in the general appearance of the Tipras, when compared with the rest of the Kuki group of tribe.

Dress.

The dress of the people is of the simplest description. The man wears a homespun turban and a narrow piece of cloth passed once round the waist and between the legs, with a fringed end hanging down from and rear. In the cold season they wear in addition a rudely sewn jacket. The women are comely and wear a petticoat similar to that worn by the Chakma women. In case of married women the petticoat generally forms the whole clothing, but unmarried girls generally cover the breasts with a coloured cloth.

Ornaments.

Both sexes wear crescent shaped silver earrings and the women a curious nose skewer, with hair, neck, wrist and ankle ornaments in silver.

Death rites.

When a Tipra dies, his body is immediately removed from within the house to the open air and a fowl is killed and placed at the dead man's feet with some rice. It is then taken to the funeral pyre by the water-side and burnt with the head to the west. A male has five layers and a female seven layers of wood in the pyre. At the spot where the body was first laid out, the relations kill a cock every morning for seven days and supply a meal as an offering to the manes of the dead. The *sraddha* ceremony is observed for both sexes, and should, if possible, take place within a year of death, but till such a time as this ceremony has been duly performed, a meal must be placed once a month on the site where the body was first laid out.

Religious ceremonies.

In all ceremonies of a religious nature an *ojha* or exorcist, who is supposed to have power over the spirit, is in great request. This office depends upon having a knowledge of charms, and it is, therefore, handed down from father to son. The Riangs are returned as Hindus but they are principally animistic. Their chief *puja* is to *Garaja*, who is worshipped on New Year's Day. Great respect is shown to *Bhut* or *Nuraha* and his son *Jampira*, the King of Demons; these spirits reside in the forests and are capable of working much evil. The Tipras believe in a here-after, a pleasant land were those that have done good work will live in ease and comfort, and where both sexes have equal rights; a land of barrenness where ceaseless toil produces no results, and constant harrassment by *Bhuts* awaits the evil-doer. The Tipras have a class of *Bairagis* amongst themselves, and these people never do a stroke of work, living solely by begging and singing religious songs.

Superstitions.

The Tipras are exceedingly superstitious; it is very unlucky for a kite to settle on the roof of the house, or a dog to jump up on the roof, or for a crow to sit and caw on the roof in the

early morning. Should the ridge beam of the roof sag at all, the house is destroyed by fire on no account and a new one must be erected on the same site. Should the steps break while ascending to or descending from the house, misfortune is sure to follow. Should a person about to take a journey meet with an empty water-pot, or see a dead body of any sort, he will be advised to put off his departure; while if any one, sneezes behind his back when he is on the point of leaving the house the journey must be at once abandoned. Any dream in connection with fire, charcoal or having the hair cut, losing a tooth or journeying down streams is singularly unlucky. The dream of small fishes, milk, eating parched grain, of an umbrella, cap, shoes, or sandals, riding of horse or an elephant, crossing or going up a stream, possessing long hair are all good omens. A curious trait, characteristic of the tribe is recorded by Captain Lewin, who, when travelling through jungle came to a streamlet across which a white thread was stretched, on enquiry it appeared that a man had died there, away from home and his friends had performed the rites on the spot, after which it was supposed that the dead man's spirit would return to his former abode. Without assistance, however, spirits are unable to cross running water and the streams had, therefore, been bridged in this manner. In disputes with Tipras when one man asserts a thing and another denies it, the matter is decided at the request of both the parties by the hill oath on the *dao*, rice, cotton and river water. The Tipras are not truthfully habit. Phayre, the well-known authority on history of Burma holds that the Mrungs are the offsprings of the Tipra tribe and their language also has striking resemblance with that of the Tipra. Lewin's comparative vocabulary where he also gives the Mrung vocabulary as collected by Phayre shows clearly the linguistic similarity of the Mrungs and the Tipras*.

*English	Tipra	Mrung	Mru
Air	<i>Now-ha</i>	<i>Nowba</i>	<i>Li</i>
Bone	<i>Burrin</i>	<i>Ba-kre</i>	<i>Hot</i>
Buffalo	<i>Ma-shi</i>	<i>Ma-shi</i>	<i>M'po.</i>
Cow	<i>Ma-tsa</i>	<i>Ma-chau</i>	<i>Tcheya</i>
Dog	<i>Tsoey</i>	<i>Tchai</i>	<i>Ku-i</i>
Ear	<i>Kung-ju</i>	<i>Kung-ju</i>	<i>Pram.</i>

*The Mrungs are often called Tipras and Mrungs. Some other hill tribes in the Census of 1931 also erroneously referred to the Mru as the Mrung. The Mrung are really a clan of the Tipra tribe.

In the Census of 1872 Mrungs were counted with Tipras. They live mainly in the southern part of the district on the hills along the Sangu Valley and the Matamuhuri Valley. Some Mrungs also live in the following *mouzas*: Bhar Jyatali, Kengu, Dabrukhyong, Sekdu, Kowakhyong, Ghalangya, Mibakhya, Remakri, Baithang and Paradah. The Mrungs do not number more than a few thousands. They are extremely fond of music and dance.

The Mrung women work harder than their menfolk and according to their custom the bride must be older than the groom at the time of marriage. The unmarried boys and girls are allowed to mix freely. A young unmarried boy can visit a maiden and spend long hours with her, singing and talking together in the presence of their parents. The songs are full of love and tender feelings. Mr. A. B. Rajput has given the English rendering of one such song in his book "The Tribes of Chittagong Hill Tracts":

"Your face, my sweetheart, is as beautiful as the lotus.
So even though you are gone away from me, I shall
feel your presence in the lotus, and seek solace by
loving it in your absence."

The young maiden replies in praise of her lover:

"How beautiful you are ? My dearest, you are like the
lungoyur or the scarlet lady-fly, velvety and shining,
in my green jungle valleys".

Cow killing ceremony.

The Mrungs are animists. They believe that the cow ate up the banana leaves on which their religious scriptures were sent down to their forefathers by the Almighty. In course of his journey the messenger, who was carrying the scriptures on banana leaves and the sample of other things in a bundle, went for bath, leaving them on the river bank. On his return he found that the cow had done the mischief by eating up the leaves and also swallowed the major part of clothes meant for women. According to the Mrungs this is responsible for their loss of faith and also for the scantiness of the clothes their women wear. For this sacrilegious act they punish the cows every year ceremonially. A few well-fed cows are tied to a pole in an open space, where the whole village assembles. Drinking and dancing around the animals continue till the afternoon, when they start striking the cows with pointed bamboo sticks incessantly. Pools of blood gush forth from their bodies and they ultimately collapse. The blood of the cows is considered sacred and preserved in bamboo pots. The animals' bodies are cut off with a sharp weapon.

After the cow killing ceremony, the villagers, young and old, sit in a circle when the elder of the village carries the sacred pot of blood to every member who has to take a vow not to bear enmity against anyone. If any member keeps silent it is presumed that he bears grudge against some one. He is entreated to give vent to his anger and after he has done it, all the persons involved are urged to live in peace with their neighbours and relatives and bear no malice against each other.

The Mros in all probability are the aboriginal inhabitants of the district; they have certain peculiar customs that divided them from the other tribes. The tribe is known amongst themselves as Mro. In 1951 they numbered 16,121. About four thousand of them live in Bandarban subdivision (Bohmong circle). Mros (Mrs).

Amongst the Mros there are five septs: (1) *Dengua* (the cultivated plantain tree), (2) *Premaang* (the cockscomb plant), (3) *Kongloi* (wild plantain tree), (4) *Naizar* (jack-fruit tree) and (5) *Gnaroo Gnar* (mango tree). Septs.

The men are physically very fine specimens, and the majority are fair skinned, with Mongolian features. When permitted the moustache and beard grow freely, but as a rule the hairs of the beard are pulled out by the root and only the moustache is grown. The men wear blue loin cloths which they tie in a very curious way, leaving a strip, two or three feet in length to hang down behind. This custom has earned them the nickname of the monkey tribe from the other hill tribes. When a party of Mros are going on a journey to a distance from their village, each member of the party will pluck a piece of sunnerass and going to a stream the senior of the party will enter the water and invoke the aid of *Orang*, after which each person will stick their piece of grass into the earth or sand at the edge of the stream and then set forth on their journey. Physical features.

The Mros are naturally very timid and keep very much to themselves. Of their own history they know nothing, but believe they migrated from the Arakan Hill Tracts and that they once owed allegiance to one "Are," king of Burma.

The Rajaweng or History of Arakan, states that a Mro was once king of Arakan, some time in the fourteenth century. The Mros will admit no stranger into their tribe.

When marriage is decided upon, the father or mother of the bridegroom or a near relative visits the young lady's house taking along a present of rupees ten and three or four Marriage.

fowls. The possibilities of marriage are discussed and if agreed upon, the presents are accepted, but if not, the money is returned; the fowls, however, are eaten. The marriage consists in paying the price fixed upon for the girl, which varies from fifty to two hundred rupces; and in the general feasting at the ceremony a string is tied round the right wrist of all males attending. This string must be allowed to rot off and if removed intentionally, bad luck will ensue. Marriage by elopement occurs, where both sides make the best of the matter. A man also secures his wife by serving for three years in his father-in-law's house.

A Mro infant has to be named the day after birth. Selection is first made of three or four names, but the final selection rests on the throw of two *cowries* (small shells), or pieces of cut turmeric root. A name is mentioned and the *cowries* are thrown. If one *cowrie* falls with its face down and the other with the face up, it is considered lucky and that name is selected, but if both the *cowries* fall with faces up or faces down it is considered unlucky, and the name is not selected. A fresh name is mentioned and the performance repeated. The same rule applies to the pieces of cut turmeric. If both cut ends appear it is unfortunate, but if one whole and one cut end appear the result is auspicious and the name is chosen. The Mros burn their dead and have no period of mourning.

Religion.

Presumably totemistic worship existed in the remote past. At the present day religion is animistic. They profess a belief in a universal spirit whom they call *Turai* and show him a certain amount of reverence. But *Orang* the spirit of water is their most honoured deity. In the month of July, the whole village community will go to the side of running water and sacrifice a couple of goats and twenty to thirty fowls. A miniature altar of bamboo is erected in the water, on this are placed rice-flour cakes and the spirit, *Orang* is invoked to make the *jhums* yield a good harvest and keep away sickness or any other illness from the village. All oaths, to be of binding nature, must be sworn by *Orang*, gun, *dao* or tiger.

The Mros also have a household deity, whom they call *Sungteung*, but he is of little importance. They venerate the sun and the moon, but do not make actual worship to either. They believe in no hereafter and believe that complete annihilation follows death. They respect Buddhism and it is probable that in course of time the tribes will finally adopt this religion. They possess no education whatever, and do not

want any. The Mros are scattered over the hills to the west of the Sangu river and in the Matamuhuri Valley. They are nomadic in habit, but this is due to force of circumstances alone, for the village site has to be moved when the surrounding country has become exhausted by *jhuming*. An epidemic of cholera will also make them move the village.

In 1901 there were about fifteen thousand Kumis mostly Kumis (Khamis,) concentrated in Bandarban subdivision (Bohmong circle).

The word *Kumi* owes its derivation to the Arakanese compound word *kwey-mui*, the word *kwey* signifying a dog and *mui* production, or the dog race, probably a delicate allusion to the dog-eating propensities of the tribes. Derivation.

The tribe formerly resided in the hills near the upper Kalandan river in the Arakan Hill Tracts, but has moved over into the district. They have no past history or recognised Chiefs. Each village community is under its own *Raoja* or *Karbari* (headman) and they owe tribal allegiance to the Bohmong as the Chief of the country. Locality.

In old days their villages used to be stockaded and carefully guarded against sudden raids, but now-a-days they are quite unprotected, as all need for such precaution disappeared with the annexation of the Lushai Hills and the disarmament of their inhabitants. Their marriage customs are similar to those in vogue amongst the other tribes of the Kuki group. In addition to the cash payment, the bridegroom has to give a certain number of spears and war *daos*. This is a survival of the time when a tax was placed on matrimony to assist in keeping the fighting strength of the village, supplied with the necessary weapons of offence and defence. At a marriage women are taken and good luck decided by the condition of the tongue of a fowl. Village.

A cock is killed by strangulation, plucked and boiled whole. The tongue is afterwards pulled out by the root and consulted. If the edges of the tongue are found to stand straight up, then good luck is assured, but if they are found to be bent or crooked then the luck can be but bad. As with the other tribes, however, the experiment can be repeated till success attends the effort. A few of the soft feathers from under the right wing of the fowl are tied with a fresh spun thread on the right wrist of the bride, and this bracelet is worn for good luck till the feathers and string drop away of their own accord.

The dead are burned, and a curious procedure is introduced in the preservation of the remains of the bones. These are collected and wrapped up in a new piece of cloth, and are Death rites.

then placed in a small house erected for the purpose which partakes of the nature of a family vault, and the remains of the members of one family may occupy the same house. No repairs are made to this house and a new one is erected when required. Once in every seven days, a period extending to one year a full meal is placed in the house containing the ashes. The same ceremony is followed for both sexes. There is no particular way of laying the corpse on the funeral pyre and no subsequent period of mourning.

Kukis.

All the aborigines or the original tribes of Chitagon Hill Tracts were designated by the word Kukis until the end of the nineteenth century. The original tribes were, however, also identified and distinguished; so we should treat Kukis as one of the many ancient and aboriginal tribes of the district, mainly concentrated in the Sadar subdivision (Rangamati), Chakma circle. The Kukis numbered 1,972 in 1951 and 1,615 in 1901. Their number in the years earlier than 1901 cannot be definitely stated, because both Captain Graham and Captain Lewin mixed them up with Lushais. Hence the Census of 1872 was completely silent about Kukis and Lushais, as the Lushai district had been separately established as distinguished from Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Kukis are a people of medium stature. They have Mongolian features with eyes set wide apart, a high forehead, broad nostrils, long upper lip, high cheek bones and fair complexion. They pull out the hairs of their moustache with the exception of a few at the corner of the mouth and wear no beard. They wear the hair of the head long, and while young take particular pride in dressing it neatly and ornamenting it with ivory mounted combs, carved ivory bone or metal skewers, and heavy brass hairpins. There is a very great diversity of fashion in dressing the hair among the clans, and one can generally tell the clan to which a man belongs by the style he adopts in dressing his hair. For instance, a man of the Howlong tribe will comb his hair back, with the parting in the centre and wear it tied in a knot at the back of the head. A Fannai will collect most of the hair and dress it in a very neat coil on the top of his head, allowing a portion of the hair to hang loose down the back. The Lakher will, on the other hand, comb his hair up and tie it in a knot above the forehead and so on. The young Kuki will grease his hair plentifully with bear's or pig's fat, and will take the greatest pains in giving it a good gloss and dressing it neatly. His favourite pastime is to laze away an afternoon stretched at full length on the platform outside the house, his head resting in the lap

of his sweetheart, who combs out his hair and generally cleans his parasite infested head. The Kuki is a man of fine muscular development, and has astonishing powers of endurance. He will cover in one day, what an ordinary man will take three or four days to march. The Kuki woman is short of stature with a squat figure and possesses but little in the way of good looks to commend her. She wears the hair parted in the centre, combed back and tied in a loose knot at the back of the head. There is but this one style, of dressing the hair among the women. Her costume consists of a white coat of coarse home-spun cloth and an extremely short petticoat which barely reaches the knees; the addition of a long cloth to wrap round her person completes her outfit.

A man wears a white turban on the head, and this he dresses according to the fashion then prevailing among his tribe. Ordinarily, it is worn closely wrapped round the head, but some tribes dress it round the knot at the top of the head, leaning over towards the forehead. A tight-fitting homespun coat, somewhat after the fashion of a mess-jacket, fastened at the neck, and a body-cloth or sheet of white home-spun which they drape round the body or gather round the waist, complete his costume. The cloths of the chiefs and more important persons are woven in colours, and are exceedingly handsome. They are generally made in stripes of various breadths, the predominant colour being grey, yellow and red on a dark blue ground. Very great ingenuity is shown in working out elaborate patterns, either in zig-zags or straight across the cloth. With the British occupation of the country and the spread of civilisation the love of novelty asserted itself and the noble savage chieftain might be seen wending his way over the mountains wearing a battered white Ellwood's sunhat, a filthy flannel shirt, a pair of old dress trousers, ammunition boots well down at the heel, with a flaring "Como" silk rug (a present from the Political Officer) thrown across his shoulders, and the ubiquitous bazar umbrella held over his head. The Kukis as a race are easily pleased, and greatly enjoy a joke even at their own expense. They are very imitative, quick to understand, and possess a retentive memory. They are also hospitable and generous; but this exhausts their virtues, while their vices are many. They are vicious and coarse-minded to a degree. Their minds run constantly on lewd and bestial subjects, and the coarser and more degraded these may be the better are they pleased.

They are also very indolent and will only lay hand to such tasks as are absolutely necessary. Everything else is left to their unfortunate women, while they spend their time in smoking.

drinking and generally loafing. Their chiefs also lead a dissolute drunken life; in fact to get royally drunk constitutes the greatest idea of happiness amongst the whole race.

The woman, on the contrary, leads a life of excessive hardship and exposure. As a young girl, she takes a certain amount of pride in her personal appearance, and manages to make herself fairly presentable. She is also fairly modest; but once married she finds her household duties and maternal cares too much for her, and speedily neglects the rudiments of cleanliness and modesty. She is, by force of circumstances, extremely industrious and makes a kind and indulgent mother indeed. Affection for their children is a trait common to both sexes, and this goes a long way to lessen the dislike their other numerous shortcomings excite.

Owing to the hard life she lives the Kuki woman ages very rapidly and becomes an unsightly object while yet but young. In old age she is a veritable hag, repulsive in her awful hideousness.

Ornaments.

Both men and women set great store on the possession of amber beads. These are of different shapes and sizes, from small circular ones to oval shaped beads, two to three inches in length and three-quarters of an inch or more in diameter. These beads are worn as necklaces. A man wears his tightly round the neck while that of the woman hangs loosely to the waist. The amber is of dark colour, due to its being constantly exposed to smoke. It originally came from Burma and is, reputed to be of great antiquity. An entirely fictitious value is, however, placed on these beads and they are generally included in the marriage price of well-to-do girls. The women also wear necklaces of coloured beads, and they have a hideous habit of piercing and distending the lobe of the ear until they can wear in it a circular disc from two to three inches in diameter and three quarters of an inch in thickness. These discs are fashioned of ivory, wood, or even a species of soapstone. They also wear brass girdles at the waist and ornament the hair with heavy brass hairpins. A man will wear a tuft of goat's hair as a charm tied to a string as earrings. Both sexes from infancy smoke incessantly. The men use a pipe with the bowl fashioned from the root of a bamboo and having a long bamboo stem, very similar to the long cherry-wood pipes. He will ornament the bowl with delicate tracery work and invariably set a piece outside at the bottom of the bowl.

The women use a peculiar shaped pipe on the principle of the *hookah*. It is a bamboo root hollowed out, having a clay bowl mounted over it and a thin metal tube to draw the smoke through. As they are inveterate smokers, the moisture settles at the bottom of the bamboo root. This liquid is carefully removed and stored in a small hollowed out gourd and is looked upon as a very delicate "pick-me-up". To be requested to take a sip from one of these is a mark of the very greatest respect and friendship. A firm but courteous refusal is, however, advisable.

Marriage is as a rule confined within the limits of the tribe, **Marriage.** but there is nothing to prevent marriage with an outsider. The bride is invariably purchased, and the price, which is generally paid in kind, consists of such things as guns, gayal, amber beads, gongs, etc. The debt incurred for the bride is allowed to go on for generations, and cases are not uncommon where grandsons are burdened with the marriage debts contracted by the grandfather. A man may also serve for his wife in her father's house.

When the first child is born it is invariably named by the **Birth.** wife's family. Any subsequent children can be named by the husband or wife. Should the first child die at an age below six months, its death is treated without any ceremony. The body is put into an old earthen-ware pot and buried under the house. It is believed that if any ceremony is observed or lamentation made, the chances of obtaining a second child will be seriously prejudiced. Should the second child die in the same way it is accorded full burial rites.

The Chief is the recognised head of the village, and his word is law to the inhabitants. He settles all disputes that may arise and is supposed to lead them against their foes and be the general dispenser of justice. To assist him he has three or four headmen, chosen by himself. These men form a council and are called by the Kukis *Kawhbul* and by others *Karbaris* (men who manage affairs, from the Bengali word *karbar*). These men are supposed to advise the Chief on all matters of state and all negotiations with foreigners are carried on through them. Every house in the village contributes towards the Chief's maintenance. The head *Karbari* will give seven baskets of paddy, each basket weighing fifty pounds. The second will give six baskets, the third five, and the fourth four. The ordinary villagers will give one basket for each house. In addition he will have his private cultivation. Beyond this nothing can be extracted from the villagers as a right, but on all big occasions, such as marriages, deaths or the entertainment of other chiefs or foreigners the villagers will contribute a share. **The Chief and his powers.**

Sanctuary.

The Chief's house is a refuge to all who choose to enter it. They and their families then become slaves to the Chief, and he in turn has to provide for their wants. All orphans and widows without any relatives go to the Chief and become his slaves. Those who have committed murder, theft or other crime can claim sanctuary in the Chief's house and become his slaves. A man may also assign his posterity in certain cases to the Chief, and on his death they become the Chief's slaves. As an example, *A* owes *B* a certain sum on account of his marriage, but *A* will not pay it. *B* then goes to the Chief and invokes his aid. The Chief brings pressure to bear on *A* and makes him settle the debt. On *B*'s death his children become the slaves of the Chief, but his widow can return to her own people.

Slavery.

The slavery is not of a severe order. The slaves are well treated, and share in the Chief's prosperity, and in return, they do all the household duties and attend to his cultivation. Should a Chief ill-treat his slaves, they could run away and go to some other Chief, who would not return them. A slave can purchase his freedom by paying the equivalent of one or two gayals, while girls are given in marriage for a similar price. A beautiful female slave generally becomes the Chief's concubine.

Widows are free to remarry anyone they like, but the widows of Chiefs must remain single if they are to retain their position, and should they marry they forfeit all rank.

Divorce.

Divorce is recognised, but if a man abandons his wife without a cause, he is compelled to leave the house with only a *dao* and a cloth, and make his way afresh in the world. Now-a-days a civil court tries the case and awards monetary compensation.

Succession.

The younger son succeeds to the parental home and the largest share of the property. The eldest son then has his share of the property and the remaining sons share whatever may be left.

Nomadic nature.

The Kuki tribes are entirely nomadic. Each village community has a certain area of hills, over which it possesses the right to *jhum*, with certain village sites. The village will only occupy a site until the surrounding lands are exhausted for the purpose of *jhuming*. The village is then moved to another site, thus allowing the old land time to recover. Disputes over *jhuming* areas were, and still are fruitful sources of dissension. In old days these were settled by the law of "might is right" and were consequently the cause of much bloodshed.



A Lushai Woman in front of her house, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The religion of the Kukis is wholly animistic. Their principal endeavours are directed to propitiating the spirits of evil. They recognise a future abode, where the spirits of the dead reside, and this is known as *Mi-thi-khua* or "the village of dead men", but they have no idea how they are to remain there or what they are to do. The future world is divided into two parts. In one are all who have died a natural death, happy and with no evil spirits to vex them, while in the other are those who die a violent death, unavenged. They stay in this land of unrest until vengeance is effected and hence the prevalence of blood feuds. Religion.

A Kuki tradition of the creation is as follows:

God made the world, the trees and creeping things first, and after that he set to work to make one man and one woman, forming their bodies of clay; but each night on completion of his work there came a great snake, which while God was sleeping devoured the two images. This happened twice or thrice and God was at his wit's end, for he had to work all day and could not finish the pair in less than 12 hours, besides, if he did not sleep he would be no good. If he were not obliged to sleep there would be no death nor would mankind be afflicted with illness. It is when he rests that the snake carries us off to this day. At last God got up early and made a dog first and put life into it, and that night, when he had finished the images he set the dog to watch them, and when the snake came the dog barked and frightened it away. This is the reason that when a man is dying his dogs begin to howl. Kukis' conception of creation.

They numbered about twenty-six thousand in 1861. In 1861 Captain Graham found Kukis or Lushais distributed over three main clans, viz., Hamlong (12,600), Syhi (10,800), and Ratan Puiga (2,580). Besides there existed many others known only through hearsay, viz., *Dhun*, *Phunty*, *Phun*, *Lenty*, *Tawtey*, *Paitey*, *Pauktu*, *Jongty*, *Hraltey Rangtsal* and *Burdiaya*.

The creation of Lushai district in India left only over a thousand (1,369) Lushais in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1951; majority of them living in the Sajek Valley in the north-east of the district (sadar subdivision, Rangamati, chakma circle), comprising an approximate area of 200 square miles in six *mouzas*. They migrated from the Lushai Hills, which is their original home; the majority of the group are still living in the Lushai Hills. The Lushais.

Before the British conquest of the Lushai Hills (now Mizo Hills) in 1892, the Lushais were extremely primitive and ferocious. There were internecine tribal feuds, and head-hunting was

considered a sign of valour. Murderous raids were made by the Lushais before the British could establish firm control in the Hill Tracts.

Christ.

Christianity was first introduced in the Sajek Valley by a missionary, named Edward Lawrence, a Baptist Protestant, in 1890. The influence of this religion on the Lushais is clearly marked. In every village there is a church, where regular congregations are held. Almost all the tribes inhabiting the valley, namely, Lushais, Pankhos and Chakmas are converts to Christianity which has taught them a disciplined way of life and to eschew blood feud. Nevertheless, they have retained many of their traditional customs and habits.

The Lushais have their own language which has been "Romanised" by the missionaries, *i.e.*, written in Latin script. There are now-a-days Lushai literature, grammar and dictionaries. Along with Lushai language the boys and girls learn Bengali in their schools which exist in most of the Lushai villages. But there are no facilities for secondary or higher education in the Lushai villages. Owing to the efforts of the missionaries the Lushais, compared to many other tribes, are educationally and culturally more advanced.

Social customs.

The Lushais are a patriarchal tribe. Their law of inheritance is interesting. The post of *mouza* headman is hereditary and the eldest son steps into the shoes of his father after the latter's death, while the youngest son inherits all the properties of the parents or will live with him during old age. The other children live separately after marriage.

Marriage.

A Lushai youth almost invariably chooses his bride either within the tribe or even outside. Arranged marriages hardly exist. The girl can also select her husband. The groom or his father has to pay a price for the girl after the marriage is agreed upon. The marriage is then solemnised in the church and is followed by a big feast. Child marriage is not prevalent. Polygamy is also rare. Divorce is permitted on grounds of adultery and cruelty, the final arbiter being the headman. If the woman is at fault, she or her father has to return the money received from the husband or his father at the time of marriage. The man forfeits the amount if he is at fault. After divorce, the father claims all the children; infants stay with the mother until the age of five. Adultery is highly punishable. The man is fined in money or property or both by the headman. During head-hunting days severe punishment was inflicted, cutting off of limbs of the body,

ear, nose, fingers, etc. In case of pregnancy before marriage the man is compelled to marry the girl.

The Lushais are very fond of dance and music. Several kinds of dance are in vogue, which include flower dance (*Parlam*) bamboo dance (*Chero*), festival dance (*Chai*), Head Hunter's dance (*Khullampui*). Dance and music.

Flower dance (*Parlam*) is performed by young girls in bright costumes at the advent of autumn after the rains. Bamboo dance is performed by young maidens in colourful dress on a moonlit night, with bamboo sticks harmoniously but quickly joined and separated by the boys. The girls step in between the bamboos with the rhythm of music and song. The festival dance (*Chai*) is a mixed dance by boys and girls after the harvesting of *jhum* crop. Head hunter's dance (*Khullampui*) shows the head-hunting tactics with bow, arrow, shield, etc.

The Lushais are hardworking people. Both men and women toil hard in their *jhum* fields. Like the Pankhos and Banjogis they make an enclosure all around their *jhum* and place traps to prevent even the smallest animals from entering the *jhum* and damaging the crops. Apart from *jhuming* the Lushais grow good quality oranges (about half a million annually) in the Sajek Valley. They also grow pineapple, mango, banana, jack-fruit, sugarcane and some tea.

They weave their own clothes. Scarfs and skirts of beautiful designs are also woven with yarns purchased from outside.

Disease is practically non-existent among this tribe. They have rare attacks of malaria and kala-azar and mostly depend on herbs for cure. In spite of the absence of modern medical facilities, the average Lushai seems to have a long life span (about 70 years).*

These tribes are undoubtedly offshoots of the Lais who occupy the chain of hills between the Tashon country in the north and Zau country in the south. They were inhabitants of Arakan and its Hill Tracts. Banjogis and Pankhos (Lais).

The Banjogis and Pankhos claim to be of common origin, sprung from two brothers and in habit they exhibit a great similarity. The Banjogi dresses his hair in a knot on the top of his head, while the Pankho dresses his in a knot at the back. It is considered a beauty to have long thick hair and the Physical characteristics.

*Sources on Lushai tribe:—Lewin (1809) (pp.98—109); Shakespear (1912); N. Roy and T. Roy: (1958 p. 87); Rajput (1865): (p.18); Chowdhury (1966) 7—8.

youths stuff balls of black thread into the hair knot to make them appear large. The legend about the origin of the mode in which the Banjogi dresses his hair is as follows:

One day the squirrel and a horned owl had a quarrel and the squirrel bit the owl on his head so that he became all bloody and when the squirrel saw the owl under this new aspect he became frightened and ran away and the owl devoured all his young ones. A Banjogi chief saw this, he was a *koavang* and the tiger came and told him that what he had seen was a message from *Khozing*; thus it is that when the Banjogis go to war they bind their hair over the forehead and put red cloth in their hair, so that like the horned owl they may take heads. The Banjogis have three sects (sub-castes) *Doi*, *Tlung* and *Sunkla*; of these *Sunklas* are considered higher.

The Pankho have only two sects, namely, *Pankho* and *Vanzang*. Intermarriage between the two tribes and sects is allowed but not with other tribes.

Dress.

Their personal description tallies with that of the Kukis, save that the girls and women leave their breasts uncovered and wear a petticoat even shorter than that of the Kukis. This garment is kept up by brass girdles of various patterns. They have no silver ornaments, but wear several necklaces of beads and chaplets of the same in their hair, and brass bangles. They possess no history or traditions of importance and the Kukis are of nomadic habit. A noticeable fact is that they alone of the tribes do not allow polygamy. The marriage rites are simple; the parents choose the bride, and send two male friends to the bride's parents to broach the subject of matrimony, and if they approve, the friends return and communicate the fact and the price is settled. This varies from thirty to one hundred and fifty rupees, which is either paid in full or by instalments, or by labour for the parents of the bride. The actual ceremony consists of slaying a fowl by beating it on the heart with the flat side of a *dao* until blood oozes from the mouth.

One of the friends then dips the first finger of his right hand into the blood and makes a mark on the forehead of the bride and the bridegroom. He then informs them that they are man and wife and the usual feasting follows.

Religion.

These people have two gods—*Patyen*, the maker of the world who lives in the west and takes charge of the sun, and *Khozing*, the patron of the tribe and specially loved by them; the tiger is his house dog. Although admitting the supremacy

of one great God, they offer no worship to him. All reverence and sacrificial rites are directed towards *Khozing*. In some villages there are men said to be marked out as mediums of intercourse between *Khozing* and the people. Such a person is called *Koavang*, who becomes filled with and possessed by the divine afflatus; during moments of inspiration he is said to possess the gift of tongue and to be invulnerable. *Koavang* receives no payment or other consideration except the honour accruing to his position, as the interpreter of the wishes and commands of *Khozing*. This god is propitiated by the sacrifice of a fowl, a small portion set aside for the spirit and the rest devoured by this votaries. They take a considerable time to make up their mind as to whether they shall have a sacrifice; and when they have settled this difficult point, they tie a piece of string round the wrist to remind them that they are pleased to propitiate *Khozing*, also known as *Kornu Bol*. A month or two afterwards, if things have not gone well with them, they sacrifice the fowl, remove the string from the wrist, and proudly wear a tuft of feathers tied with a string round the neck. Nearly every member of the tribe one meets wears the string round the wrist, but few get as far as having it round the neck.

This parsimony is characteristic of the Lais, whose one endeavour is to propitiate the spirits as to make promise suffice for as long a time as possible. When delay can no longer be made they start with the lowest article on the sacrificial list, namely, a fowl's egg and slowly, very slowly mount up till the climax of propitiation is reached in the sacrifice of a gayal.

Their great oath is by *dao*, spear, gun and blood, and is taken by the side of running water; it is a most solemn undertaking and only to be performed on great occasions. On ordinary occasions, such as a theft in the village, an oath is taken on the Chief's spear. The spear is driven into the ground at the entrance to the village, and each one who passes takes hold of the spear and swears he knows nothing of the matter. Whoever will not thus swear has to account for whatever may have been stolen. Pankhos and Banjogis bury their dead.

The dead body of an old gentleman is decked out in new clothes, the face painted, and the tail feathers of *Bhimraj* stuck in his knot. Placed in a sitting position on the floor at the end of the house facing the corpse is the entrance. A feast is prepared and every one is at liberty to have food and drink with the corpse; a share for the latter is placed by its side on the right. The nearer relatives spend all their time in feasting and

drinking and droning out a dirge dilating on the prowess and estimable qualities of the dear departed; the widow weeping and drinking liquor, will occasionally fan the corpse and drive away the flies with a fan made from the tail feathers of the great hornbil. This will go on for twenty-four hours and in the meanwhile a grave has been dug just outside the house; it is dug east and west and to the right at the bottom of the grave a space is tunnelled out. The corpse still in the sitting position and wrapped in its clothes is carried and lowered into the grave and placed in the tunnel together with a spear and a water bottle, with the head facing the east; the entrance to the tunnel is closed up with split bamboo and the open grave filled up.

Legend of the creation.

The following is the legend of the creation as existing among these people; it is practically common to all the Kuki group of tribes. "Formerly our ancestors came out of a cave in the earth, and we had one great Chief named Tlandropa; it was he who first domesticated the gayal; he was so powerful that he married God's daughter. There were great festivities on the marriage, and Tlandropa made God a present of a famous gun you can still hear the gun, the thunder is the sound of it. At the marriage the Chief called all the animals to help cut a road through the forests to God's house; all gladly gave assistance to bring home the bride, save the sloth, the *huluk* or white browed gibbon, his grandson and the earth-worm; on this account they were cursed and cannot look on the sun without dying. The cave whence man first came out is in the Lushai country close to Vanhuilens village of the *Burdaiya* tribe; it can be seen to this day, but no one can enter. If you listen outside, the deep notes of the gong and the sound of men's voice can still be heard. Some time after Tlandropa's marriage all the country got on fire, and his wife told us to come down to the sea-coast where it is cool, so we came to this country.

At that time mankind and the birds and beasts all spoke one language, then God's daughter complained to her father that the tribe were unable to kill the animals for food, as they begged for life with pitiful words making the hearts of men soft, so that they could not slay them. On this, God took from the beasts and birds the power of speech and food became plentiful among us. When the great fire broke out upon the earth, the world became dark and men broke up and scattered into clans and tribes and their languages became different."

The Khyangs (Khyangs).

Lucien Bernot discovered Khyang habitations in the Chemi *mouza* between the Sangu and the Karnafuli rivers in 1952. About 500 persons are settled in Bandarban subdivision (Bohmong

circle). The Census of 1951 counted 1,300 Khyangs who call themselves *Hyou*. The Khyangs are probably the descendants of the southern *Chins* who might have migrated to the Chittagong Hill Tracts over two centuries ago when the Burmese conquered the kingdom of Arakan. After a study of the vocabulary of Khyangs, collected during his stay in the Hill Tracts, Bernot came to the conclusion that they are a kin to the southern *Chins*.

The Khyangs have no sub-castes or sects. Though they appear to be Buddhistic, they propitiate a household deity called *Nada Ga*, and also *Bogley*, the spirit of water. Religion.

The death rites are simple in the extreme. The body is only kept for a night and there is no feasting. On the next day it is burnt, the earthen cooking pots in use at the time of the death and an earthen liquor pot are taken and smashed to pieces at the site of the funeral-pyre and a *turung* or clothes-basket is broken up. Water is poured on the ashes, but no fragments are kept and there is no subsequent mourning. Death rites.

The women wear neat clothes. The petticoat is long. Young unmarried girls wear a colourful jacket with no sleeves; it has no opening and is slipped on over the head. Their ornaments are similar to those worn by Marma women. Unmarried girls may expose their breasts, but a married woman as soon as she has a child, covers her bosoms with a strip of cloth. Dress.

The Khyangs burn their dead. There is no feasting nor any subsequent mourning.

In 1812 an Englishman who began life as a shoe-maker, but later became a Professor of Sanskrit at the Presidency College financed the work of Christian Mission in the Hill Tracts. The London Baptist Missionary Society sent the first missionary. Shortly after his appointment the missionary died at the hands of a lad of Portuguese and Mugh parentage, whom he had adopted. This lad impatient of restraint broke out into a fit of rage and stabbed Mr. De Bruyn and the last moments of a signally devoted life were spent in an effort to obtain pardon and release for the penitent lad. The next missionary died of fever in 1820. By 1822 there were 163 converts, but during the first Burmese War these converts were scattered and most of them, it is feared, died of starvation or were put to the sword. Christian Mission.

The death of a third missionary and the difficulty of securing a suitable successor necessitated the suspension of the work till 1891, when Chittagong was made the headquarters of the

mission, and thence annual journeys were made into the Hill Tracts. These journeys were purely evangelistic, for no trace could be found of the little band of Christians gathered in before the first Burmese War. In the following nine years three missionaries came and went, but the difficulty of filling up the gaps was now not so serious, as Chittagong was recognised by the London Society as one of its regular stations. The prospects of work too were brightened by the presence of two young Mugh converts who had been trained for the work of preaching the Gospel and whose efforts were followed with considerable success. In 1900 the society re-established the headquarters at Rangamati, where in 1903 a commodious bungalow was built and occupied by a married missionary. Both this gentleman and his wife were qualified teachers and educational matters received considerable attention at their hands. Small schools had been opened in quite a number of villages and a boarding school established at Rangamati. The education given in the boarding school was of a thoroughly sound character and the status of the school had been raised from the upper primary to that of the Middle English. It is to this school, fed from the village schools, that the mission looked to secure its teachers and evangelists for the future. Already several of these lads were thus employed, and it was fully expected that hill lads now in training may soon be able to supersede the Bengalee teachers who formed the staff of the boarding school.

A marked feature of the work was that in nearly all the schools girls had been induced to attend. In 1903 the society decided to call in the aid of medicine and surgery and a fully qualified man and his wife who was a Sister in one of the London hospitals were sent out in 1904 to superintend this branch of work. Since then a third missionary had been added to the staff. This medical work was almost entirely charitable.

The educational works, though aided by Government grants for some years, was later entirely supported by the Society. The evangelistic part of the work was practically self-supporting and the mission was to realise its ideal, which would read thus "The evangelisation of the Hill Tracts by 6 Christians at the cost of the Hill Church".

Panchayets had been formed to assume control of affairs and the missionaries fully hoped that as far as this part of their work was concerned they had drawn the last rope of support from England. The total Christian community in the district at the end of 1907 numbered about 750, and in 1961 they were 10,160 in number.

A game called *konyon* by the Jhumiya Mughhs, and *gilakara* by the Chakmas, is played by all the hill tribes. The *konyon* is the seed of a creeper, in colour and smoothness like the English horse chestnut. One side of the seed is flat, so that it can be made to stand up. The game is to kick the opponent's seed and knock it over. The side gaining most kicks wins. Amusements.

At the festivals of the Khyoungtha (Jhumiya Mughhs) the travelling operation company is an important feature. The company visits in the cold season the larger and more wealthy villages, and is engaged by the chiefs and others on the occasion of marriages and other festive occasions.

The Chakma boys play a game resembling the English game of "touch" and the peg-top is also one of their common amusements.

The Tipras are very fond of dancing; but they have, Captain Lewin states, only one musical instrument, which has a sound something between an organ and a bag-pipe. It is made from a gourd, into which are inserted long reed-pipes of different lengths, having each one hole stop. The Kumis have drums of various sizes, and also a sort of guitar made out of a solid piece of wood, with wooden frets tied down the stem.

With Independence, the Central and Provincial Governments have done much to improve the conditions of the Hill Tribes. All that is said above is undergoing rapid change with the impact of modern civilisation. The greatest single factor in this direction has been the construction of the Kaptai Dam on the Karnafuli river. This has created a large lake which has devoured scores of villages, necessitating shifting and resettling well over 100,000 persons, as described earlier. This has also resulted in changing of the tribal structure and consequent disruption of tribal life. The development of tourism and advent of industry has also given rise to changed customs and acceptance of generally adopted modern morals. What has been said above may well be out of date very soon. Tribes in modern times.



A village scene of the Murang tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE AND LIVE-STOCK.

The district comprises both hilly and flat lands. The whole of the eastern and western portions are hilly and were until recently considered suitable only for *jhum* cultivation. The southern, central and northern parts of the district have some areas suitable for plough cultivation, considerable area having been already submerged by the Karnafuli Reservoir. Introduction.

The rocks, in general being soft, their disintegration and decomposition into soil, both in the hills and valleys, are widespread. Heavy rainfall followed by quick run off washes the soil off the hill slopes. The process of disintegration goes on and soil replacement takes place. The soils are relatively young. The composition of the soil is similar to those of the parent rocks.

Great damage is done to soil development by deforestation and undergrowth of hill slopes, either for *jhuming* (shifting cultivation) or for any other reason, as considerable soil erosion is initiated. Heavy rainfall causes land slides and slumping. The ultimate result is that bare rock is exposed.

"The major limitations to agriculture are the steep slopes, heavy monsoon rainfall and dry season drought. Slopes are generally too steep for clear cultivation of arable crops to be advised without terracing, and the latter seems likely to be uneconomic to undertake on a scale. Conditions are more suitable for tree crops" *

The only implements used in agriculture by the hillmen are the *dao* and the axe. The *dao* is the hill knife, used universally throughout the country. It has a blade about 18 inches long, narrow at the haft, and square and broad at the tip pointless, and sharpened on one side only. The blade is set in a handle of wood; a bamboo root is considered the best. The *dao* to a hill-man is a possession of great pride. It is literally the breadwinner; with this he cuts his *jhum* and builds the houses; without its aid the most ordinary operations of hill life could not be performed. It is with the *dao* that he fashions the women's weaving tools; with the *dao* he fies off his boat; with the *dao* he notches a star in the steep hillside leading to his *jhum*; and to the *dao* he frequently owes his life in defending himself from the attacks of wild animals.

Implements for cultivation.

With the introduction of plough cultivation in the district in the late 19th century, wooden plough has been in use in agriculture. Very recently, modern implements of cultivation like power tillers and power pumps are being used for cultivation to some extent. The institutions distributing these to the agriculturists either on loan or on hire are the Agricultural Development Bank and the Agricultural Development Corporation.

Cereals.

The cereals grown in the Hill Tracts are rice and corn (*makka* or *bhutta*). Rice is the staple crop of the district. The following eight kinds of rice are sown in about the middle of April :

- (1) *Mele*, (2) *nabadu*, (3) *rangi*, (4) *gelang*, (5) *kabarak*, (6) *kangani* (these six are harvested in August), (7) *churi*, (8) *amai churi* (these two are harvested in September).

The following six kinds are sown in May and harvested in September and October :

- (1) *Kamrang*, (2) *badhoia*, (3) *turki*, (4) *tarkho*, (5) *paltiki*, (6) *bini* or *birni*.

Most of these consist of several varieties, differing more or less from one another in colour and size of the grain and husk. Of the corn there are several varieties grown in the Hill Tracts; it is sown in April, and harvested in July and August.

Green crops, fibres, Miscellaneous crops.

The principal green crops grown in the Hill Tracts are two kinds of *til* (sesame). The seed is sown in May, and the crop is harvested in September. It is nearly all sold to the plainsman traders, and the hill-men seldom extract the oil themselves. The important fibre grown in the Hill Tracts is *kapas* (cotton). It is sown in April, and harvested from October to December. It is put in the *jhum* together with rice, cotton, and a variety of vegetables and fruits. The other crops grown in the district are tea, tobacco, potato, melon, pumpkin, brinjal and cucumber. Limes, plantains and other fruits are found wild in the jungles.

Jhum cultivation.

Jhum comprises 1,02,468 acres or 4·3 per cent. of the total land in the Hill Tracts, excluding the reserved forests. Approximately two-thirds, i.e., 68,000 acres of this *jhum* area are actually being used for crop production. *Jhuming* is concentrated in the rugged and relatively inaccessible parts of the district.

Altogether, there is an estimated area of 2,467 square miles available to *jhumias* and cutters of forest produce. There are approximately 26,000 households *jhuming* around 120 square

miles every year. All the tribes practise *jhum* cultivation, though with some variations. The Lushais, Banjois and Pankhos put bamboo fences around their *jhum* fields to protect their crops from wild animals, whereas other tribes instead of building fences, post a guard to frighten away birds and animals. In 1959, the *jhum* crops in the Sajek valley were badly damaged by the infestation of rats which ate up the entire *jhum* crop.

The *modus operandi* of *jhum* is as follows : In the month of April a convenient piece of forest land is selected, generally on a hillside; the luxuriant undergrowth of shrubs and creepers has to be cleared away, and the smaller trees are felled. The trees of larger growth are usually denuded of their lower branches and left standing. If possible, however, the *jhumia* fixes upon a slope thickly covered with a bamboo jungle of the species called *dollu*; this, compared with a dense tree-jungle, is easy to cut, and its ashes, after burning are of greater fertilising power. Although the clearing of a patch of dense jungle involves no doubt very hard labour, yet the surroundings of the labourer render his work pleasurable in comparison with the toilsome and dirty task of the cultivators of the plains. By his comparatively pleasurable toil the hill-man can gain two rupees for one, which the *rayat* of the plains can painfully earn; and it is not to be wondered at that the hill people have a passion for this mode of life, and regard with absolute contempt any proposal to settle down to the tame and monotonous cultivation of the dwellers in the lowlands.

The *modus operandi* of *jhum* cultivation.

The *jhum* land once cleared, the fallen jungle is left to dry in the sun, and in the month of May it is fired; this completes the clearing. The firing of the *jhums* is sometimes a source of danger, as at that season of the year the whole of the surrounding jungle is as dry as timber, and easily catches fire. In this way sometimes whole villages are destroyed, and people lose their lives. Captain Lewin had seen a whole mountain side on fire for four days and four nights, having been ignited by *jhum* firing. It was a magnificent sight, but such a fire must cause incalculable injury to the forest, young trees especially would be utterly destroyed. Generally, however, by choosing a calm day and keeping down the fire at the edges of the *jhum* by beating with boughs, the hill people manage to keep the firing within certain prescribed limits. A general conflagration is of quite exceptional occurrence. If the felled jungle has been thoroughly dried and no rain has fallen since the *jhum* was cut, this fire will reduce all save the larger forest-trees to ashes, and burn the soil to the depth of an inch or two. The charred trees and logs

previously cut down remain lying about the ground; these have to be dragged off the *jhum* and piled up all round, and with the addition of some brush-wood, form a species of fences to keep out wild animals.

The state of
activity of *jhum*
cultivation.

The gathering of the heavy clouds and the grumbling of thunder denote the approach of the rains. These signs at once bring the village into a state of activity; men and women, boys and girls, each bind on the left hip a small basket filled with the mixed seeds of cotton, rice, melons, pumpkins, yams, and little Indian corn; each takes a *dao* (hill knife) in hand, and in a short time every hillside is seen bustling with activity. Arrived at the *jhum*, the family forms a line, and steadily works their way across the field. A dig with the blunt square end of the *dao* makes a narrow hole, about three inches deep; into this is put a small handful of the mixed seeds, and the sowing is completed. If shortly afterwards the rain falls, they are fortunate, and have judged the time well; or (unparalleled luck) if they get wet through with the rain as they are sowing, great will be the jollification on the return home, this being an omen that a bumper season may be expected. The village now is abandoned by every one, and the men set to work to build a house, each in his own *jhum*, for the crop must be carefully watched to preserve it from the wild pig and deer, which would otherwise play havoc among the young shoots of the rice. The *jhums* of the whole village are generally situated in propinquity; a solitary *jhum* is very rare. During the rains mutual help and assistance in weeding the crop is given; each one takes his turn to help his neighbour's *jhum*. No hoeing is done; the crop has merely to be kept clear from weeds by hand labour, and an ample return is obtained. If the rain be excessive, however, the cotton crop is liable to be spoilt, as the young plants die from too much water. The first thing to ripen is corn, about the end of July; next come the melons, of which there are two or three sorts grown in the *jhums*; afterwards vegetables of all sorts become fit for gathering; and finally, in September, the rice and other grains ripen. At this time the monkeys and jungle-fowls are the chief enemies of the crop. In the month of October the cotton crop is gathered last of all, and this concludes the harvest. The rice having been cut, is beaten from the ear in the *jhum*; it is afterwards rolled up in rough straw-covered bales and carried to the granary in the village. Besides grain and cotton the hill tribes grow tobacco, planted principally in small valleys on the banks of the hill streams.

Plough
cultivation.

In many parts of the district there are large tracts of low and levelled land well suited for plough-cultivation; but the hill

man has so strong an aversion to the irksome labour of the ploughcultivation and so great a love for his own free and wandering life, that when once some years ago in the country adjacent to Feni, the attempt was made to introduce the plough it met with complete failure. 'Owing to their fear of the independent tribes, the people of that part of the country were unable to move to fresh *jhum* land further eastward, and their own country was thoroughly exhausted from over-cultivation; but they steadfastly held aloof from the plough, preferring to earn a precarious subsistence by the cutting and selling of bamboos and the hewing out of boats. Some few of them who had, or could borrow, a small amount of capital, took up the profession of itinerant traders; while others earned, or added to, their means of livelihood by rearing and herding cattle, for which the country afforded ample pasturage'.

The plough-cultivation movement that started during the later part of the 19th century arose, in consequence of the introduction of the Forest Conservancy rules into the district, by which *jhuming* operations were hampered and circumscribed; but it was mainly in those cases where the hillman was also discontented with his chief, that he took to ploughcultivation as a remedy both for the restrictions on his *jhuming* operations and for the exactions and oppressions of his chief. It had long been the wish of the local officers that the people might be induced to give up their nomadic form of cultivation and adopt a more settled life; and as soon as applications were made by hillmen for leases of land, for the establishment of villages and for ploughcultivation, sanction was obtained to leases being granted on very favourable terms, and Government further sanctioned a cash advance to each family. the advance to be repaid within five years with interest at 5 per cent. per annum. These terms were not, however, regarded as sufficiently favourable to induce very large number of hillmen to abandon their *jhums* and settle in villages, and accordingly, by an order, dated the 26th June, 1872, Government sanctioned an advance of £8 without interest for each hill family. The following are the conditions on which plough cultivation settlements were made in 1875:

Inclination to
plough cultiva-
tion and the
conditions
offered by the
Government in
1875.

- "(1) The advances must not exceed £8 for any one hill family; (2) the advance must be repaid without interest in five years; (3) only one crop must be put into the grounds at one time; (4) the grant of land is not to be more than ten acres for each family; (5) no rent is payable for the first five years, for the sixth and seventh years the rent is 2½d. per acre,

for the eighth and ninth years it is $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ per acre, for the tenth and eleventh years $6\frac{3}{4}d.$ per acre, and for the remaining nineteen years $9d.$ per acre; (6) all plough cultivators are exempted from paying capitation tax to the hill chief; (7) each family must cultivate at least two-thirds of an acre in the first year, and two-thirds of an acre more each year until the land is brought under cultivation; (8) leases are to be for thirty years; and (9) the lease-holders are allowed to *jhum* in the neighbouring hills for the first year."

Difficulties faced by the hillman in practising the plough cultivation.

Notwithstanding the very liberal terms offered to those who adopted cultivation by the plough, the success of the movement was not in accordance with the expectations of those who set it on foot; the total amount of land leased till 1872 was 4,256 acres and the advances given for the purchase of cattle and agricultural implements amounted to £3,274. Of the twenty-six settlements that were made, twenty-five were granted in 1872 and one in 1873. Since then there had been a great falling-off, in the plough-cultivation movement and many even of these who had received advances wished to give up the plough and live again by *jhuming*. Those who took advances and settlements with honest intentions and with an earnest wish to try cultivation by the plough, had numerous drawbacks. Chief among those was the havoc committed by tigers on their cattle, and by other wild beasts and by birds on their crops. So heavy was the jungle that it took several seasons to clear sufficient land for the support of a family. Non-tribals from Chittagong district too, had to be imported and retained as labourers on high wages to teach this plough cultivation to their employers. Besides these obstacles in the way of the cultivator, all the interests of the chiefs were opposed to the change, for not only they lost the capitation tax payable by the hill cultivator, but they also lost in position; every hillman who forsook his *jhum*, transferred the allegiance of himself and his family from the chief to the Deputy Commissioner.

Lewin recorded in 1866.

"Throughout the whole of the Hill Tracts I know no single instance of a hill man cultivating with the plough; indeed, it is rare to find a man earning his livelihood in any other way save by *jhum* culture. Near the village of some of the chiefs, a few acres of plough cultivated land may sometimes be seen; this, however, is invariably tended by Bengalee servants engaged for the purpose. The forest conservancy restrictions lately introduced will, however, it is thought, induce many of the hill population to settle down as plough cultivators".

Apart from *jhuming*, hillmen also practise plough-cultivation. This method is not indigenous to the Hill Tracts, it was introduced in the late 19th century by the Chittagong people who were invited by the tribal *rajas* to settle on the lower parts of the hills of Chittagong where irrigation was possible. The descendants of these Bengalees are still occupying the areas. They are the "plainsmen" in contrast to the "hillmen" and are mainly Muslims and in all respects both culturally as well as in their physical constitution similar to the people from other districts of East Pakistan. In course of some hundred and fifty years, a large number of hillmen have learned from them the use of the plough. They have been practising ploughing wherever there was along little streams at the bottom of valleys enough suitable land to allow for terracing and irrigation. Therefore, one distinguishes today in this region "*jhum*-land" and "flat land". From the quantitative point of view, however, the former is still of far more considerable importance, in the economy of the Hills than the latter.

The main "flat land" crops are the rice and the *rabi* crops. Rice cultivation is of two kinds: *aus* (or autumn harvested rice) and *aman* (or winter harvested rice). The *aus* is sown in April on irrigated land, and is harvested in July. It is usually first sown in nurseries, then transplanted in the fields. The *aman* is sown by the broadcasting method in July. It is also transplanted after the rain has flooded the land and turned the earth into mud. Harvesting takes place in December and January. There is no weeding between transplantation and harvesting. During this period the main occupation of the tribesman and his family is to watch the field and scare away birds and other animals. For that purpose he erects a hut on the slope of the hill or on the edge of his flat land, stays there, away from the village, until the harvesting seasons. In Kasalong rehabilitation area a third crop, namely, *boro* or deep water paddy is also being grown in winter months.

Main crops of flat land.

Rabi crops which are grown abundantly in the district, constitute the main cash crops of the hillmen. They include mustard, tobacco, chilly, radish, egg-plant, ladies finger, yam, sugarcane, etc. The ploughing commences in October. Mustard and pulses such as *mug dal* are sown in November and tobacco, chilly, radish, bringal, *bhendi*, yam, are sown upto the end of January. All *rabi* crops are off the ground by April. *Rabi* crops, especially the mustard are manured. One method is to leather cattles on this land before cultivation.

Rabi crops.

Total acreage under each crop in different years in the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Years.	Aus.	Aman.	Boro.	Maize.	Mug.	Masur.	Makh-kalai.	Til (winter.)	Rape mustard.	Sugar-cane.	Cotton.	Tobacco.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1947-48	80,000	30,000	100	1,100	..	..	..	30,000	14,500	1,300	55,000	3,000
1948-49	85,000	44,000	100	1,300	500	500	500	30,000	14,000	1,500	55,000	1,000
1949-50	82,000	52,000	100	1,400	500	500	500	30,000	10,000	1,500	55,000	1,000
1950-51	80,000	60,000	20	1,300	500	500	500	30,000	14,300	1,500	55,200	1,000
1951-52	85,600	52,500	20	1,500	..	600	500	30,000	15,000	1,600	56,300	1,500
1952-53	88,000	61,000	100	1,500	..	600	500	30,200	15,000	2,500	58,000	1,600
1953-54	101,000	61,000	100	1,500	100	600	500	30,200	14,500	2,600	58,100	1,800
1954-55	102,000	63,000	100	1,400	200	500	400	30,000	14,000	2,500	58,000	1,700
1955-56	87,600	62,500	..	1,400	200	400	300	30,000	14,800	1,500	51,095	1,300
1956-57	89,300	68,100	..	700	200	100	300	26,600	10,000	1,000	52,510	1,300
1957-58	90,300	110,100	..	800	100	100	100	28,800	6,000	1,100	51,000	1,500
1958-59	79,400	107,500	..	900	40	100	200	32,400	9,000	1,100	51,000	1,400
1959-60	96,700	108,500	..	900	300	200	200	33,400	22,000	1,000	51,500	1,400
1960-61	81,300	76,300	400	1,200	200	200	200	22,700	86,000	700	46,570	1,300
1961-62	76,000	64,300	700	900	200	200	200	20,000	7,300	500	39,200	1,200
1962-63	80,800	52,800	700	1,000	100	200	200	20,100	7,800	500	39,850	1,300
1963-64	103,900	54,000	500	1,000	100	100	100	20,300	8,300	600	37,700	1,300
1964-65	98,600	44,200	2,500	870	250	60	130	20,200	7,400	600	34,615	1,300
1965-66	101,000	44,600	2,900	890	100	100	200	20,500	7,500	600	36,960	1,500
1966-67	103,000	46,500	10,170	980	100	90	170	21,000	7,620	700	35,960	1,600
1967-68	119,320	52,580	15,354	1,160	105	95	170	20,610	8,410	740	35,920	1,650

Production of crops in tons in different years in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Years.	Aus rice.	Aman rice.	Boro rice.	Maize.	Mug.	Masur.	Mash-kalai.	Til (winter.)	Rape and mustard.	Sugar-cane.	Cotton.	Tobacco.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1947-48	28,800	10,900	37	405	..	..	..	7,700	2,635	18,300	13,750	1,235
1948-49	33,900	24,030	40	475	150	140	150	6,950	2,535	28,260	17,700	3,005
1949-50	32,980	28,485	35	565	150	150	150	6,560	1,450	25,660	15,434	335
1950-51	28,680	30,095	..	385	150	140	160	6,160	2,960	25,615	18,306	305
1951-52	30,830	23,900	..	445	..	190	170	7,725	3,085	28,760	17,740	615
1952-53	32,655	27,800	45	500	..	200	180	7,790	3,310	45,175	17,120	660
1953-54	40,675	27,935	45	495	30	200	165	7,755	3,000	44,960	17,340	785
1954-55	41,085	28,745	45	440	60	175	150	7,295	3,040	44,805	17,310	715
1955-56	31,520	25,825	..	440	65	125	100	7,360	3,150	22,695	15,265	335
1956-57	35,700	31,000	..	200	65	30	95	6,155	2,080	13,000	13,930	430
1957-58	35,900	45,140	..	200	30	30	30	6,140	1,200	17,200	13,490	380
1958-59	30,075	44,340	..	250	10	25	65	6,660	1,805	18,705	18,182	360
1959-60	40,205	59,045	..	265	95	65	65	6,470	4,790	18,390	18,025	310
1960-61	31,870	20,000	200	330	65	60	60	4,370	1,565	7,700	19,185	285
1961-62	36,310	47,100	500	248	65	60	60	4,115	1,490	6,150	16,504	277
1962-63	38,820	27,660	510	376	30	60	60	4,395	1,230	7,095	16,265	300
1963-64	43,680	27,560	325	295	20	20	25	4,435	1,510	9,085	15,865	300
1964-65	39,860	22,885	1,560	240	70	15	45	4,415	1,795	14,195	14,570	335
1965-66	48,200	24,630	1,630	325	30	35	65	3,955	1,930	16,530	15,557	385
1966-67	51,100	26,250	6,350	395	25	25	50	4,630	2,100	13,450	14,495	440
1967-68	61,360	30,860	15,000	470	25	25	50	4,920	2,315	14,270	14,529	455

**The effect of the
Kaptai Project
on Agriculture.**

An average *jhum* cycle before inundation by Kaptai Dam was 7 to 10 years or even more (Soil and Land Use Survey shows it could be as long as 20 to 25 years); this did not cause serious deterioration to the fertility of the land. But submergence of extensive *jhum* lands, natural increase of population and acute shortage of plough land as a consequence of inundation by Kaptai Dam which threw 54,000 acres of plough land out of cultivation, have been mainly responsible for the shortening of the cycle which is now generally three to five years. This has resulted in declining soil fertility, low yields from *jhum* land, and quick erosion and consequent soil degradation. And in the process valuable timber and bamboo resources are being destroyed. The Soil and Land Use Survey has clearly indicated that *jhuming* is the least remunerative type of agriculture and has suggested gradual abolition of this traditional form of cultivation and wide-spread adoption of a permanent type of hill-slope cultivation that makes for more efficient use of the land, labour and capital.

The Karnafuli Reservoir submerged 54,000 acres of plough lands which accounted for 40 per cent. of the entire plough lands of the district. Now there are 21,522 acres of flat cultivable lands mostly found in the Chengri Valley and Kasalong Rehabilitation Area.

The paddy lands lying above the Reservoir's full supply comprise only 21,522 acres. This figure excludes not only the extensive paddy lands that were submerged by the Reservoir but also the lands that are used for paddy cultivation when the reservoir is not at full supply level.

Much of the land lying between the maximum and minimum flood level is available for crop production during several months of the year. It has been estimated that the acreage between the 90-foot and 109-foot contours is about 5,000 acres in the Kasalong Rehabilitation Area alone. If this acreage is kept above the water line for sufficient time to produce a crop of paddy (early *aus*) it will greatly alleviate the pressure on land in the Kasalong area. The same would be true of other areas bordering the Reservoir.

H. E. Kauffmann, a German anthropologist, who made a detailed and interesting study of the agriculture pattern in the southern Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1955-56, has made mention of the cultivation of potatoes, mustard and excellent tobacco on the sandy banks of the Sangu river and on flat alluvial fields above the river. The hillmen use the tobacco

for making their *churut* (cigars). At Chimbuk Hill imported Holland potatoes are being grown. At Ali Kadam, on a river terrace, on flat land very excellent growth of lemon is seen.

Because of steep slopes and heavy rainfall erosion is very high in the Hill Tracts. Establishment of protective forest, cover crops, contour ploughing on flat lands and contour trenching, planting on steep slopes and terracing are effective erosion control measures.

Several types of terracing are being tried in the Hill Tracts. At Barkal, experimental bench terraces have been built. At Ramgarh, bananas and fruit trees have been planted on the terraces and pineapples on the slopes between the terraces.

The project was started in 1964 by the Agricultural Development Corporation. A Soil Conservation Officer of the rank of Deputy Director is in charge of the project which covers an area of 200 acres. The objects of the project are to find out the methods and techniques of agriculture suitable for hilly areas where soil is subjected to heavy erosion owing to high rainfall; to prepare a list of crops suitable for cultivation on high hill tops, slopes, foothills and valleys of the Hill Tracts by experimental trials. The results of cultivation of various fruit crops, spices, etc., are encouraging. Local banana (*bangla* and *champa*) and pineapples are growing well on all kinds of hilly lands. Orange, lemon, jackfruit grown on contour lines are doing well. On valley lands banana (*amrita* *sagar* variety) guava and other fruit crops have been successful.

Close to the Soil Conservation Project is located the Pilot Orchard Project on an area of 60 acres. A Fruit Development Officer is in-charge of the project which is intended to carry on research on various ways of multiplication of horticultural plants such as budding, grafting, layering, and raising of seedlings.

The Raikhali Nucleus Seed Multiplication Farm situated on the southern bank of the Karnafuli river near Chandraghona, stands on an area of 100 acres. Hence, experimental trial with different varieties of crops are being carried out. Paddy specially Irri and selected local varieties have yielded better results than the types usually grown in the Province. The Burmese, Holland and local varieties of potatoes are also being tried. Citrus, pineapple, banana, cocoanut, litchi are doing well.

Seed multiplication farms and nurseries have been established at Golabari and Kamalchhari under Rehabilitation Project. They have supplied millions of seedlings for planting throughout the Hill Tracts.

Soil
conservation.

Soil Conserva-
tion Project at
Ramgarh.

Pilot Orchard
Project.

Agricultural
Farms.

Seed multipli-
cation and
nurseries.

Livestock.

Livestock production in the district is primarily for domestic consumption, and existing livestock population is very small. All species of livestock have the same characteristics as those seen in the rest of the province. Among the domesticated animals are cows (Zebu type) and buffaloes (resembling Nagpuri type). Bullocks are used for ploughing. The hillmen also keep pigs, goats, chickens and limited number of ducks. Small number of sheep and geese are also seen, cattle like *goyal* are caught and domesticated and sold for meat purpose.

There were 9,520 breeding bulls, 33,330 bullocks, 40,980 cows 21,450 buffaloes, 730 sheep, 37,410 goats, 1,40,000 pigs and 3,13,810 fowls in the district in 1960. 5,000 cow hides 1,100 buffalo hides, 50,000 goat skins, 0.4 million of eggs, 15,040 tons of milk, 216 tons of ghee, 6 tons of butter, 318 tons of beef, 187 tons of mutton were produced in the year.

Recent studies.

The Soil and Land Use Survey has indicated that forestry has done optimum land use in the whole of the district. It is also absolutely necessary to establish forest plantations of fast growing trees and bamboo outside the forest reserves as a soil conservation measure. The present heterogeneous forest should also be replaced gradually with an artificially regenerated regular forest of more desirable species of higher yields. The recommendations of the Survey also included de-reservation of the Sitapahar Reserved Forest and its utilisation for agriculture.

Sericulture.

An expensive research programme in the fields of sericulture and timber utilisation has also been suggested. In 1963 there were approximately 3,00,000 mulberry plants in the district. Rehabilitation Department further supplied 1,00,000 plants to the hillmen.

Plantation agriculture.

For rehabilitating the uprooted tribals from Karnafuli, Chengri, Kasalong and Maini villages and colonise them into Chengri Valley, and non-submerged areas of Ramgarh, Bandarban, and Rangamati subdivision, plantation programme was undertaken. A large measure of success has been achieved in the plantation programme though it has come rather slowly. Rehabilitation has been both short-term for quick growing crops like banana, pineapple, ginger, turmeric; and long-term for crops like orange, cashewnut, mango, litchi, silk, rubber and so on. On the whole these crops, particularly cashewnut, pineapple, banana and orange have done well in the Hill Tracts. This is further confirmed by the findings of the Soil and Land Use Survey.

Orange plantations in the district (in the Sajek Valley) date back some 30 years or more. Conditions for large scale production of citrus appear to be ideal in the northern and eastern slopes of the higher land forms. Citrus of all cultivated species, namely, grape, sweet and bitter oranges, lemon, lime, tangerine and mandarin orange, pomelo, kumquat are produced well in the Hill Tracts.

Production of
citrus fruits.

6,310 uprooted families who were resettled on hill tops of the submerged area, so far were given 29,665 acres of hilly land for plantation. Seeds, seedlings, suckers, fertilizers, etc., are being supplied to the families on long-term loan or grants in kind. Cash loans or grants are also given for subsistence and maintenances of plantation. Orange, banana, cashewnut, lemon, guava, mango, litchi, mulberry, rubber, etc., constitute the chief plantation crops. Planting materials, fertilizers, etc., are distributed in kind. The distribution of planting materials is shown below:

Items.	Quantity distributed in 1965-66.	Total quantity distributed up to 30-6-1966.
Orange seedlings ...	2,02,075 Nos.	8,15,676 Nos.
Pineapple suckers ...	6,35,250 Nos.	20,66,495 Nos.
Cashewnut seedlings ...	Nil	4,185 Nos.
Cashewnut seeds ...	73 Mds.	164 Mds.
Mulberry saplings ...	6,00,000 Nos.	9,92,240 Nos.
Mango and Litchi grafts, Lemon gooties, Guava seed- lings, etc. }	90,048 Nos.	1,32,329 Nos.
Rubber stumps ...	93,000 Nos.	2,41,200 Nos.

About 6,723 maunds of fertilizer including lime have been supplied to the planters up to 30th June, 1966. It is subsidized by the Government.

Power Pump Irrigation has proved quite successful in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It is proposed to irrigate about 5,000 acres of land within a period of five years. Up to 30th June, 1966, 2,775 acres have been covered and the results have been satisfactory. For pump irrigation Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) charges Rs.1.41 per acre, 25 per cent. of the amount payable in advance, in addition to the security money of Rs.150 per pump. The rate of subsidy is on a sliding scale; in the first year 75 per cent. of cost, in the second year 50 per cent. and in the third year 25 per cent. only. Private canals irrigated only 4,300 acres of land and other sources another 2,500 acres.

Irrigation.

Fisheries.

There are no fishing towns or villages in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and none of the people live solely by fishing. The rivers of the district, however, contain an abundance of fish and large numbers of non-tribals from the plains resorted in the cold weather to the rivers Sangu, Matamuhuri and Baghkali for the purpose of fishing. The fisheries yield only a very slight revenue to the Government.

Hillmen can fish for their own consumption everywhere free, but for commercial purposes, no one can fish except those to whom the right to do so has been auctioned. Very often, a whole river is auctioned to a headman or to some local people.

The Mong Chief has started several fisheries of his own on his personal estate. A pond is prepared. It is dried, then ploughed. Mustard cakes are put in the mud, then water is allowed to come again. This gives good feeding to the fish and helps to increase their numbers. Non-tribal people are not allowed to 'buy' land rights from the hillmen.

**Fishing in the
Karnafuli
Reservoir.**

The Karnafuli Reservoir measuring about 500 sq. miles, created in 1961 was closed to fishing until early 1963. In mid 1963, however, fishing commenced in the area first as an experimental trial and experienced fishermen from the Bay of Bengal area, equipped with small wooden boats initially started fishing with gill-nets. Some fishermen also used large beach-seines. Hillmen who entered into the fishery used a long series of baited hooks. The use of improved gill-nets, made of nylon twine, however, gradually became very widespread and was used in preference over other methods such as seining, longlining and angling. The number of fishing units usually consisting of 2-3 men showed steady increase. About 200 units operated in 1964; the number more than double in 1965. The present number of units engaged in fishing vary from month to month. In January 1966 the number was 273, which rose to 350 in June; in July there were only 224 units. The number of fishing units operating during 1964-65 and 1966 in different months in the lake is given below:

Number of Fishing Units operating from 1964 to 1966.

Months.	Number of Fishing Units		
	1964.	1965.	1966.
January	88	378	273
February	96	365	250
March	101	334	249
April	115	688	181

Months.	Number of Fishing Units.		
	1964.	1965.	1966.
May ...	124	674	296
June ...	120	673	350
July ...	144	473	224
August ...	148	535	...
September ...	153	424	...
October ...	149	337	...
November ...	211	285	...
December ...	298	311	...

A large number of commercial fish species are present in the reservoir. They include *mrigal*, *kalibaush*, *boal*, *chapila*, *punti*, *bacha*, *chital*, *katla*, *phausa*, *pusli*, *ru*, *ghonia*, *pabda*, *aeir*, *tengra*, *galsa*, *bagir*, *banspata*, *silonda*, *gharua*, *singhi*, *magur*, *gajal*, *shoil*, *bain*, etc. *Mrigal* and *kalibaush* constitute very sizeable portion of the total catch. *Katla* and *ghonia* have a very high rate of growth. *Rui* is, however, becoming increasingly rare. *Chapila*, *punti*, *bacha* and *chital* constitute the more common fish in the reservoir; among the less common ones are *magur*, *bain*, *galsa*, *mahashol*, *phausa*, *boal*. The raising of domesticated water fowl which is a desirable species in the reservoir is extremely difficult; this species has a high natural mortality.

Species of fish
reared in the
reservoir.

Fishermen are required to have a licence to fish in the reservoir and pay a royalty of Rs.5 per maund. The royalty is payable when the daily catch is brought to the landing station at Rangamati and Kaptai where weighing arrangements also exist.

Licence of the
Fisherman.

The total annual landing of fish in the lake as well as average daily landing during 1963-64, 1964-65 and 1965-66 are given below:

Annual landing.

Total annual landing of fish from 1963-64 to 1965-66.

Year.	Total landing (in maunds.)	Average daily landing (in maunds.)
1963-64 ...	11,692	47
1964-65 ...	44,101	176
1965-66 ...	33,193	133

The total number of fishing days in a year is around 250. The daily average landing has been estimated by dividing the total landing with 250.

Preliminary productivity studies indicate that the fish catch may be increased to as much as 5-10 tons per day if certain additional facilities are provided to the fishermen in the form of improved fishing equipments, transport, ice plants, marketing facilities, etc. To supplement the natural stock and to augment fish production in the reservoir, a total of 24,95,532 quality fry and fingerling of major carps (*rui*, *katla*, *mrigal*, *kali-haush*) were liberated into the lake. It is presumed that as a result of the earlier stocking and the present natural spawning in the lake the optimum stock of fish will be maintained.

**Fisheries
Development
Corporation.**

Fisheries Development Corporation have two schemes in hand, namely, Fisheries Outboard Motorisation and Commercial Exploitation of the Kaptai lake, outlay in the Third Five-year Plan for the two schemes being Rs.43.4 lakhs and Rs.25 lakhs respectively. Mechanised boats and dugouts were introduced early in 1965 under an FAO-EPFEC scheme. This programme involves supplying Swedish-built 6hp and 12hp outboard engines to fishermen for use on their dugouts. A few large boats are equipped with an outboard engine and a supply of nets.

**Training of
fishermen.**

The plan includes the training of fishermen who are also required to pay back the loan for equipment received along with the interest of 6 per cent. Under this programme Fisheries Development Corporation have distributed 79 outboard engines to fishermen. Seventy-nine fishing units have been mechanized with these engines. Each of these units has been supplied with 200 pieces of nylon gill nets, 400 pieces of synthetic fishing floats and 40 lbs. of nylon rope for effective fishing in the lake. Out of these 79 fishing units, 48 are composed of tribal fishermen.

The cost of the engines are recovered in instalments from the catch of the fishing units. No interest is charged on the cost of the engines; the cost of the nylon nets, ropes and floats are also recovered along with a commission of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The Fishermen's Co-operative Societies of the district have also made available nylon twines to a large number of fishermen who also obtain loan from the Co-operative Societies for purchase of boats, repayable at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest.

**Transportation
and marketing.**

Not only that the fishery potential of the reservoir is very great but also the reservoir fish has large and attractive market in Rangamati and Chittagong, and to some extent in Kaptai. At present several methods of transportation and marketing of fish produce are prevalent in the area. The earliest system which still prevails is that, a group of fishermen

combine, some of them concentrate only on fishing and send their fish to the market in a large community dugout. One fisherman from each unit is involved solely in their transportation and marketing. Secondly, the middlemen buy fish directly from the fishermen and then transport the fish locally or transport it by truck to the Chittagong market. Fishermen's Co-operative Societies also provide some transportation and marketing facilities. The Fisheries Development Corporation has provided a number of steel pontoons with insulated fish hold in different fish assembly centres for landing of fish. A jetty and market shed exist at Rangamati. The Fisheries Development Corporation has provided four trucks for carrying fish from Rangamati and Kaptai to Chittagong and Dacca, and have planned the establishment of a 10-ton cold storage plant at Rangamati.



Some people of the Murang tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER V

FORESTS.

The important and valuable forest of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is mainly confined within the northern portion of the district and is bounded on the north by Tripura State (India), on the south by Akyab (Burma), on the east by the Lushai Hills (India) and on the West by the civil district of Chittagong. The forest of Chittagong Hill Tracts lies between 22°-0' and 24°-0' north Latitude and 92°-0' and 93°-0' east Longitude.

Situation.

The greater part of the district had been notified as Government Unclassed State Forest which has been subjected to heavy *jhum* (shifting) cultivation. The resultant effects of heavy *jhuming* are the problems of soil erosion of all types and rapid silting up of the bed of the Kaptai Lake and other rivers and streams. The Reserved Forest consists of five separate blocks. One of the two larger blocks comprises the entire catchment area of the upper parts of the Kassalong together with the head-water of the Maini stream on the west. The other area includes the entire catchment area of the upper Rainkhyong together with the Subalong head-waters on the north and the upper catchment area on the east. They are situated at a distance varying from 80 to 150 miles from the port of Chittagong. The remaining area consists of the comparatively small but important Reserve, i.e., Sitapahar on the bank of the Karnafuli. The two small areas of Reserve Forest, one at Rangamati and the other at Barkal, have already gone under water of the Kaptai Lake.

The characteristic feature of the region is the system of low and elongated hill ranges running almost north-south with almost parallel valleys intervening. The main rivers and their tributaries have meandering courses. Some of the meanders have been cut off from the main stream due to the shifting of the river courses and at places have formed ox-bow lakes. Lewin in his "The Chittagong Hill Tracts and the dwellers therein" described the country as "Tangled mass of hill, ravines and cliffs covered with dense tree-bush and creeper jungle." The interval between the larger hill ranges are filled up with jungles, low hills, water courses and in places swamps of all sizes and descriptions. Generally, the country is hilly, but not mountainous; and the general topography varies considerably. Some parts are flat, whereas the general configuration is undulating. A feature of interest in the gently undulating areas

Configuration of
the ground.

is the presence of many crescent shaped depressions which are quite often marshy and are locally called *dhepas*. During dry season people catch fish in these *dhepas*. After the construction of the Kaptai Dam, the greater portion of lower Kassalong Reserve Forest has now formed into a lake. The low-lying plains of southern Kassalong comprising the Gangaram and upper Kassalong valleys gradually merges into a well-drained elevated tract of low and flat ridges from Tintilla upwards in the north. Along these valleys, some of the north-south hill ranges are situated. The maximum altitude here is 200 ft. and the slopes of these hills are quite steep. In the Rainkhyong reserve, the watershed is generally sharper and steeper. The ridges appear steeper and the gullies narrower. The topographical features of the adjacent Subalong and Thega reserve forests are also more or less of similar type. A common topographical feature of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is that of the slopes and ridges dissected by a great number of creepers, brooks and gullies, and, that is why, we find innumerable bigger or smaller side slopes, broken ridges, spurs and ravines.

Rivers.

The most important river of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is the Karnafuli, over which the dam at Kaptai had been constructed. This river enters the district at Demagre. It has a long and winding course cutting deep gorges across two parallel hill ranges, one at Chilerdak at Subalong and the other at Silchari on the Sitapahar. It leaves the Hill Tracts at Chandraghona and finally falls in the Bay of Bengal. Its principal tributaries within the district are the Thega, Subalong, Rainkhyong and the Kaptai on the left and the Harina, Kassalong and the Chengri on the right bank. The Ichhamati flows from the Hill Tracts and meets the Karnafuli at Kodalla. The Halda with its tributaries, the Dhurung and the Sarta also rise in the Hill Tracts and fall into the Karnafuli, eight miles above Chittagong. The other important rivers of the Hill Tracts are the Sangu and the Matamuhuri in the south of the district. They form large valleys and their upper catchment areas form the Sangu and the Matamuhuri Reserve Forests. The Dolu, Tankawati and the Hungore are the tributaries of the Sangu.

Rocks & Soils.

On the request of the Bengal Forest Department, Dr. P.K. Ghose, a Geologist, undertook a survey of the soil of the Kassalong, Rangamati and Sitapahar Reserves in 1941 and his report runs as follows:

Rocks.

Solid rock is sometimes found within 2'-5" of the surface. The rocks are chiefly arenaceous shales and are often interbedded with thin hard ferruginous partings. The only minerals

that are recognised in hard specimens are mica, quartz and limonite. The ferruginous layer stands weathering well. The rocks have low and undulating dips. Some dicotyledonous fossil wood has been found in the soil in the neighbourhood of Rangamati. The rocks are of Miocene age.

The bed-rock is covered by varying thickness of soils. Soils.
The thickness vary from 2' to 15'. The present cover of the soil mantle is thin and appears to have been derived from the bed-rock. The soil varies from sandy, loamy to loamy-clayey in difficult parts. At Sitapahar and Rangamati it is mainly sandy whereas in Kassalong it is loamy to loamy clayey. The top soil in the forest areas varies from 2" to 8" in thickness and is darker in colour due to accumulation of humus.

The climate of the district, in general, cannot be called Climate.
good or healthy. The temperature varies from about 75°F to 93°F and the average rainfall is about 100". The heaviest rainfall comes between June and September.

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts three Forest Divisions are functioning, namely, the Hill Tracts North Division, the Hill Tracts South Division and the Jhum Control Division. In addition to these three divisions, the control of Sangu Reserves and Matamuhuri Reserves vests with the Chittagong and Cox's Bazar Forest Divisions respectively. Distribution of
the Forest and
area.

Jhum Control Division is supposed to raise trees in those areas which have been heavily *jhumed* in the past. These areas when brought under economic trees, like fruit trees, are then to be handed over to the tribal people.

PARTICULARS OF FORESTS OF THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.

1. *Area of the forests before the closure of the Kaptai Dam:*

	Sq. miles.
(a) Chittagong Hill Tracts North Division	679.50
(b) Chittagong Hill Tracts South Division	321.99
(c) Unclassed State Forests	... 3,400.00

2. *Area of forests after the closure of the Dam:*

(a) Chittagong Hill Tracts North Division	617.00
(b) Chittagong Hill Tracts South Division	315.00
(c) Unclassed State Forests	... 3,166.00

3. *Area of Kaptai Lake:* 256.00

4. *Area of reserve forests under water after closure of Kaptai Dam:*

Sq. miles.

(a) Chittagong Hill Tracts North Division	18.00
(b) Chittagong Hill Tracts South Division	4.34
(c) Unclassed State Forests	234.00
(d) Out of a, b Plantation	About 10.00 sq. miles.

5. *Area dereserved and occupied by the Hydel Project:*

(a) Chittagong Hill Tracts North Division	44.50
(b) Chittagong Hill Tracts South Division	2.25
(c) Plantations	2.25

6. *Area of Sangu R.F.* 128.257. *Area of Matamuhuri R.F.* 160.71**Brief description
of areas.
Kassalong.**

Kassalong reserve forest includes the former Kassalong and Maini head-water reserves. The old Kassalong reserve includes the areas drained by its upper tributaries. The important tributaries are the Shishok on the left and Gangaram on the right bank. The southern and the most accessible portion of the Kassalong reserve forest and the Mainimukh reserve has since gone under water. A large area of this reserve forest has also been dereserved and deforested to settle the people affected by the Kaptai Lake. The northern boundary of this reserve forest is the international boundary with India.

**Rainkhyong
Reserve.**

This reserve forest occupies the upper valley of the Rainkhyong river. This valley is quite long and is tapering towards the south.

The Thega and the Subalong head-water reserve form part of Rainkhyong reserve and occupy the left bank of the upper Thega and the head-waters of the Subalong streams respectively. On the east and north of Rainkhyong reserve is the Saichal Thum or Saichal Main and are separated from it by steep ridge. The eastern boundary of Rainkhyong reserve along the Thega stream is the international boundary with Lushai Hills of India. Its southern boundary is with Arakan of Burma.

Kaptai Reserve.

Once the Kaptai Reserve Forest used to be considered very rich with its beautiful teak plantations and high-forest. The major and the most important part of this reserve forest had been devoured by the Kaptai Hydro-Electric Project. This reserve forest is now situated below the Kaptai Dam and are distributed on both the banks of the Karnafuli river.

Sangu Reserve Forest is administered by the D.F.O., Chittagong, at present. The forest is very rich with its very tall trees and thick bamboo brakes. Because of its difficult location, long distance and inaccessibility, no work is done in this forest at present.

Sangu Reserve
Forest.

This forest is under the administrative control of the D.F.O., Cox's Bazar. The reserve forest starts from Alikadam. It has common boundary with Burma. Matamuhuri Reserve Forest is not so rich in its flora when compared with Sangu Reserve. At present exploitation of this forest, in a small scale, has been started.

Matamuhuri
Reserve Forest.

According to the classification of Sir H.G. Champion, the Forest of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are predominantly of tropical evergreen and semi-evergreen types. The flora of the Chittagong Hill Tracts has its distinctive characters and resembles the flora of Arakan quite closely. The Chittagong Hill Tracts flora differs from that of Burma by absence of natural teak forest. The distinctive features of the Chittagong Hill Tracts forests are the frequent occurrence of different species of *Garjan* (*Dipterocarpus*) and *Jam* (*Eugenia*).

The composition
of the crop.

In the broad classification, the Forest of the Chittagong Hill Tracts has been classified as tropical evergreen and semi-evergreen types. The climatic and allied factors like rainfall, humidity, water supply and the soil exert great influence on the vegetation. These aspects have been found to be the most important determinants of the character of vegetation. On the north, north-eastern and the eastern aspects and in deep moist valleys and also on other areas, sheltered from the sun by the adjoining hills, the forests approach to true evergreen type. On hot aspects like the south, south-west and the western, the forest becomes more the deciduous type, depending on the extent of exposure.

Among the tree species, *Garjan*, *Civit*, *Chandul* and *Champa* grow to gigantic heights and girths. The majority of trees in the understory are of evergreen type, whereas most of the tallest trees are deciduous or semi-deciduous. Some of these trees shed their leaves during cold season and some in the summer, so the forests never lose the look of evergreen or more correctly semi-evergreen view.

The following types of forests are commonly found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It may, however, be mentioned that the

Types of forests.

different types are quite often found intermingled :

(a) Evergreen—

(i) Tropical wet-evergreen.

(ii) Tropical mixed-evergreen.

(b) Deciduous Forest—

(i) Tropical moist deciduous riverine forest.

(ii) Open deciduous forest.

(c) Bamboo brakes.

(d) Savannah.

Evergreen

Forests:

(i) Tropical
wet-evergreen
forests.

This type of forest is generally found in deep valleys or in shaded-cold places where there is plenty of water supply. The largest trees are over 100' in height and the principal species are *Chapalish* (*Artocarpus chaplasha*), *Telsur* (*Hopeadorata*), *Chundul* (*Terrameles nudiflora*), *Narikelly* (*Sterculia alata*), etc. Under these trees, *Pitraj* (*Amoora rohituka*), *Gututia* (*Bursera Serrata*), *Toon* (*Cedrela toona*), *Nageswar* (*Mesuaferroa*), *Eugenia* species, *Ficus* species, etc., occur.

(ii) Tropical
mixed ever-
green forests.

Tropical mixed evergreen forests occupy the largest areas both on the undulating hilly ground as well as on alluvial flats. This type merges either to evergreen or deciduous types of forest according to locality factors influencing it. The number of species found in this region is very large. The tallest trees grew as high as 150' to 200' in height. The special feature of this type is the occurrence of groups or patches of *Dipterocarpus* which occur in the topmost canopy. The canopy usually consists of *Garjan* (*Dipterocarpus* spp.). The other important species found in this type of forest are *Tali* (*Dichopsis polynatha*); *Chapalish* (*Artocarpus chaplasha*); *Pitraj* (*Ammora wallechii*); *Raktan* (*Lophopetalum fimbriatum*); *Khairjam* (*Eugenia cymosa*); *Simul* (*Salmalia malabaricum*); *Bandarhola* (*Duabanga sonneratoides*); *Toon* (*Cedrela toona*); *Batna* (*Quercus and castanoyis* species), *Sutagula* (*Machilus tombracym*); *Bhadi* (*Odina odier*); *Jarul* (*Lagerstroemia* spp.); *Pitali* (*Triwia nudiflora*); *Hargeza* (*Dillenia pentagyna*), *Chalta* (*Dillenia indica*); *Dharmara* (*Sterostermum chelonuide*); *Bahera* (*Terminalia belerica*); *Haritaki* (*Terminalia chebula*), *Gutgutia* (*Heynea trijuga*); *Gamar* (*Gmelira arborea*), *Kanak* (*Schima wallichii*) *Lakoacha* (*Artocarpus lakoacha*); *Uriam* (*Manbeoosa*); *Mouz* (*Terospermum acerifolium*); *Gab* (*Diospyros embryopteris*); *Silbhadi* (*Garuga pinna'a*); *Chat'un* (*Alstonia schoraris*); etc.

In this type of forest there are numerous swamps or *dhepas*. In these swamps various types of canes are found. As these swamps get gradually silted up, almost pure patches of *Jarul* and *Jam* establish there.

This forest type has two categories:

Deciduous
forests.

- (a) Tropical moist deciduous riverine forest and
- (b) Open deciduous forest.

This type is most commonly found in the new alluvium along the bank of the big rivers. The top canopy is comprised of *Kadam* (*Autocephalek kadam*); *Patali* (*Treia nudiflora*); *Simul* (*Salmaalial malabaricum*), *Bandorhola* (*Duabanga sonneralisides*). These forests are not very thick and small trees, shrubs, *Khagra* and other grasses occur in between.

Tropical moist
deciduous
riverine forests.

Open deciduous forest occurs on the exposed slopes with south to westerly aspect where the supply of water is less. The main species are *Bhadic*, *Koroj*, *Udal*, *Hergaza*, *Amra*, *Amloki*, *Bohera*, *Champ*, *Chikrasi*, *Toon*, etc.

Open deciduous.

Bamboos are sometimes found to occur in patches, the most common species being *Muli* (*Mulocana bamboo soiles*). In more open places often very heavy growth of *Assam lota* is seen. In recently discovered *jhumed* areas, the growth of *Assam lota* is particularly found promising.

The bamboo jungles of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are very important from commercial point of view. Bamboos in East Pakistan are called poor man's steel.

Bamboo brakes.

Bamboo jungles are not regarded a separate type of forests. Most commonly, they form the "undergrowth" under various forest types. In the interior, however, there are many places where almost pure bambo forests are seen. The important species of the Chittagong Hill Tracts bamboos are *Muli*, *Mitenga*, *Dalu*, *Orah* and *Kaltcheri*. Bamboos usually grow in pure conditions but at times the mixture of two species can also be found. One peculiar characteristic of bamboo is that they come into flower gregariously and after flowering, all the bamboos of the area die out. New growth of bamboo then takes place from the seeds fallen on earth. Bamboos propagate through their regions except when they flower and die. Bamboos in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are worked on a three years cutting cycle. Flowering cycle of bamboos are different for different species. *Muli* bamboos normally flower in a 40 to 60 years cycle.

The most important industrial use of bamboos in East Pakistan is pulp and paper making. Bamboos can also support many cottage industries.

Savannahs.

In the Hill Tracts Savannah type of forests are those where there is practically no trees and the areas are invaded by Sunngrass (*Imperata arundinacea*) and *Khagra* (*Sacefram spontaneum*). Very large portion of the Unclassed State Forests come under this type of forests from where the trees cover has either been totally removed or trees occur very sparingly.

Destructive Agents of the Forests: Human Agency.

The forests, particularly the Unclassed State Forest has been subjected to most ruthless destruction by *jhuming*. *Jhuming* is a process in which the forests are clear-felled sometimes in the month of February or March. The vegetation is then allowed to dry. The dried staffs are then set on fire in the month of April or early May. The areas so burnt are then cleansed. Sometimes the small unburnt staffs are re-burnt. The ashes become a ready source of nitrogen. After the burning and cleaning of the areas, the surface soil thus becomes very loose. The tribal people then put *jhum* paddy in the areas. During rains the loose surface soil thus washes down along with the run-off. It may be pointed out here that along with paddy the *Jhumiyas* also sow seeds of various vegetables like pumpkin, gourd and brinjals, etc. They even sow cotton along with paddy. After the harvest of the *jhum* crop, the *Jhumiyas* move on to new areas, break new forests and repeat their destructive operations. With the increase of the tribal population the *jhuming* cycle has now come down to 4/5 years. The yield of *jhum* crop has drastically gone down with the loss of fertile top soil. The U.S.F. has been subjected to such heavy *jhuming* and the crop yield therein has gone down to such an extent that the tribal people no longer finds it profitable to *jhum* in the U.S.F. They are, therefore, now moving into the fur-flung corners of the Reserve Forests and destroying the very valuable forests there. Destruction of forests due to *jhuming* or shifting cultivation has assumed such a proportion that it has now attracted the attention of all the relevant authorities.

Wild Animals as distractive agent.

Elephants can be termed as the most destructive of all wild animals. They destroy young plantations, particularly those of *Chapalis* (*Artocarpus chaplasha*) and bamboo forests. They also cause considerable damage to the young crop by trampling them. Sambur, barking deer, wild pigs, monkeys, porcupine, squirrels, etc., also cause lot of damage to the crop.

There are plants like *Loranthus*, *Assam lota*, *Lantana* and different types of creepers which cause quite heavy damage to the young plants. Plants as destructive agent.

Loranthus attacks on *Gamar* plantations. At time and becomes so severe that the entire plantation is cut down to get the adjoining areas free from this pest.

Many insects could be seen in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In fact the damp climate and the dead decaying wood offer favourable conditions for insect breeding. The most injurious insects are teak defoliators which eat away the leaves of teak trees; and teak canker borer which forms cankers and cankerous growth on the young teak plants. Insects.

It has already been mentioned that the entire Chittagong Hill Tracts Reserve Forests have been placed under the management of five forest divisions, namely, the Chittagong Hill Tracts North Division, the Chittagong Hill Tracts South Division, the Jhum Control Division, Cox's Bazar Division and that of the Matamuhuri R.F. and Chittagong Division in-charge of the Sangu R.F. Because of difficulties of extraction of the forest produces the Sangu R.F. is not worked at present but it is expected that in the near future, extraction facilities will be developed and this very rich forest will be worked very intensively to provide not only timber and firewood but also to support many wood-based industries. Sangu reserve forest is particularly rich in magnificent *Garjan*, *Teak-Chambal* and very thick bamboo brakes. How the forests are worked.

The forests contain many useless species which at the present moment has no utilization. The forests are worked on a clear felling system in which part of the forests are clear-felled every year. The valuable and useful species are extracted and the clear-felled areas are then regenerated with more valuable species like *Teak*, *Jarul*, *Gamar*, *Mahogany*, *Jam*, etc.

At present Forest Industries Development Corporation and many other small timber merchants are engaged in extracting timber, firewood, bamboos and other usable produces from this forest.

The Reserve Forests under the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the North and South Divisions are worked very extensively. These forests are worked according to Government approved working plan prescriptions. The prescriptions in the working plan are made based on previously collected field data and past experience.

The main timber forests are worked on clear-felling systems. The object of this system of management is to clear-fell pre-determined areas of the forest and then plant up the area with more valuable species. It may be mentioned that the Chittagong Hill Tracts Forests contain too many species most of which practically have no use. Clear-felling system enables us to replace these useless subsidiary species with more useful and valuable species in the quickest possible time and in the easiest possible manner.

Teak plantation.

The most important species that is now being raised in the plantation is teak which is very easy to grow during the initial period. But unfortunately, teak is a very exacting species. It taxes the soil too much and, in addition, pure plantation of teak is also liable to be attacked by teak defoliators and teak-canker insects. Teak being a deciduous species, it also increases fire hazard. In order to get rid of some of these bad aspects of pure teak plantation, some sort of mixture of evergreen species with teak, will improve the quality. With this end in view, a system called Natural Regeneration Plot system (N.R.P.) has been developed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Under this system a strip of natural forests is left all around the clear-felled area. The clear-felled area is regenerated with teak. The older trees left in the N.R.P. areas, disperse seeds in the area planted with teak thus results a mixture of indigenous ever-green species and teak obtained in the plantation area. The useless trees, the injurious undergrowths and the dead and deceased trees are removed from the N.R.P. at the time of main-felling in the clear-felling area. This is done to prevent the spread of injurious undergrowths and to stop further regeneration of useless species in the newly regenerated areas.

Rubber plantation.

Another new venture undertaken by F.I.D.C. in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is the rubber plantations. The rubber plantation at Ramu near Cox's Bazar and at Raozan on Chittagong-Chittagong Hill Tracts road look very promising. The tribal people are showing quite keen interest in planting rubber trees around their home-steads.

The system of raising plantation.

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts as has already been mentioned, the tribal people are in the habit of doing shifting cultivation and thereby causing very heavy damages not only to the forests but also to the soil. This habit of shifting or *jhum* cultivation of the tribal people has been made use of, in raising forest plantation. The system of raising plantation by the tribal people by making use of

their habit of shifting cultivation is known as Tanga system. In this system a certain number of tribal families are recruited as forest villagers. The number of forest villagers recruited for each plantation centre is normally equal to the number of acres of plantation raised in that centre. For each village there is a head-man who maintains liaison between the department and the forest villagers.

The villagers take charge of the area to be planted after the usable produces are removed. They clear-fell the area, allow the produces to dry up so that a very thorough burning of the produces becomes possible. Clear felling of the area and the burning are usually done during the period from the 1st March to the end of April. Other works like collection of debris and their re-burning, soil working, staking and laying out of the planting area are completed before the onset of monsoon. With the on-set of monsoon the forest villagers start putting in their *jhum* paddy and along with that they also plant up the seeds and seedling of forest species. In the *jhum* areas they also grow different types of vegetables and cotton at many places. The forest villagers grow the plantain and look after them, free of cost, for the first year. They are paid for their plantation work from second year onwards. The plantations are managed scientifically till their maturity. They are finally felled.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts were under the administration of the Collector of Chittagong. The Chittagong Hill Tracts were first constituted into a district in 1860 and a Superintendent was put in-charge. Two years later, in 1862, toll stations to collect toll on forest produces were established along the main rivers. Forest Department started collection of toll since 1st April, 1971.

History of past
management.

The most important land-mark in the forest administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts was the notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated the 1st February, 1871, declaring 5,670 sq. miles out of a total of 6,882 sq. miles as Government Forest under section 2 of Act VII of 1865.

In 1869 an Assistant Conservator of Forest was appointed to the charge of the Chittagong Hill Tracts forests. In 1871, teak seeds were brought from Burma and plantations were started at Sitapahar.

In 1875, William Schilich, K.C.I.E., the then Conservator of Forests of Bengal inspected the Hill Tracts forests and noted that :—

- (1) The hillmen had the free run of the forest for their domestic requirements.

- (2) Individuals desiring to export timber had to take out a so-called permit to cut and remove the produces.
- (3) On passing certain stations situated on the banks of rivers, Government levied toll for the forest produces.
- (4) The Commissioner of Chittagong was the *ex-officio* Conservator of Forests and the Assistant Conservator of Forests was subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner and through him to the Commissioner.

The effects of the above system have been detrimental to the forests. The almost unrestricted cuttings have told very severely on the growing stock of timber. *Jarul*, the most valuable of Chittagong Hill Tracts timber have almost been routed out from the outer hills, its natural habitat. *Toon* has more or less, disappeared from the accessible areas. Of *Chapalish* a good stock is still available in the upper part of the valleys. *Gamar* and *Kamdeb* appear still in fair numbers. *Chikrasi* is found here and there but *Telsur* is rare. Thus it will be seen that supply of first class timber trees has become very inadequate.

The great enemies of the forest conservancy are:—

- (1) the practice of *jhuming* over the greater part of the forest and
- (2) the wasteful manner in which timber has been cut.

Besides, a huge number of saplings and young trees have been destroyed through the practice of cutting dug-out and their extraction. Furthermore it has hitherto been the practice of bamboo cutters to cut saplings and young trees of all kinds for house posts. In short there is no doubt that the forests are on the verge of ruination.

Keeping the above facts and the *jhuming* habits of the tribal people and the necessity of keeping the people under the control of the District Officer, the following suggestions were offered:—

- (1) Two classes of forests to be constituted "Reserves" and "District Forests".
- (2) Reserves to be managed entirely by the Forest Department and the district forests to remain under the control of the Deputy Commissioner.
- (3) No *jhuming* or cultivation of any kind or irregular removal of timber should be allowed.

- (4) The people of the district to get their requirements of forest produces from the district forest with such restrictions as the Deputy Commissioner may impose from time to time.

The proposals were approved by the Commissioner, Chittagong Division, and also received sanction of the Government. The first Reserve was created in the year 1875 comprising of the areas drained by the Maini river having 339 sq. miles. The process of demarcation of the forest for Reservation continued. Sitapahar Reserve was further extended and the Rainkhyong Valley was created into a new Reserve. The total area of Reserve Forests in 1884 was 1,345 sq. miles.

A very devastating cyclone took place in 1895. A second cyclone in 1897 did more damage to the already damaged forests. A huge number of trees were uprooted and most of the trees had their tops broken. The younger trees suffered less from cyclone, because of the protection afforded to them by the larger ones. The young teak plantations suffered worst. A large number of exotic were tried from time to time. Bara Mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla*) plantation near Kaptai was raised in 1891 and has proved to be very successful with lot of natural regeneration under the big trees. In fact, teak is also an exotic in Chittagong Hill Tracts and has most successfully been introduced there.

The broad-based objects of scientific management of these forests, in short, are:

General objects
of Management.

- (1) To provide sufficient forest cover in the upper catchment areas in order to conserve and improve the region.
- (2) To prevent denudation of the hills, erosion of the soil, the silting up of the river beds and the Kaptai lake.
- (3) To provide employment to the local people.
- (4) To have a sustained supply of timber, fuel, other forest produces and industrial raw-materials.
- (5) To provide for gradual improvement of the forest with the aim of having a normal forest, sustained yield and maximum financial return.

For the purpose of management the whole forest have been divided into Blocks and Compartments. The administrative subdivisions have the Divisional Forest Officers, one in-charge of each division. Under the Divisional Forest Officers there are

Subdivisional Forest Officer, Range Officer and Beat Officer. There are check stations to check the legality of the forest produces passing through the stations. These stations, as can be visualised, are situated on the bank of the rivers and on the important high ways.

**Special
Attraction of
Chittagong Hill
Tracts.**

The Chittagong Hill Tracts forests are famous not only for its very rich flora but also for its fauna. Of the wild animals that are commonly found in this region, mighty elephants are the most important. *Kheda* operations (elephant catching) of the Chittagong Hill Tracts attract lot of tourists from inside the country as well as from outside. The noosing operation of the wild-elephants with the help of tame elephants is something worth seeing. Chittagong Hill Tracts is also famous for its bison, sambar, barking deer, Royal Bengal tiger, leopard, panther and varieties of monkeys. Different types of birds like Imperial pigeon, Green pigeon, white winged wood-duck, *Maina*, *Bhimraj*, etc., are also special attractions of Chittagong Hill Tracts.

A recently created game sanctuary at Bagaihat will be of special fascination to those who like to shoot to wild lives not with their guns but with their cameras.

Among birds *Bhimraj*, *Bulbul*, *Koil*, King-fisher, Peacock, Pheasant, Jungle fowl, Greenpigeon, Imperial Pigeon, dove, partridge, white winged wood duck, snipe, curlew, etc., are numerous.

Fishes like *Katal*, *Rui*, *Mrigal*, *Gagot*, *Boal*, *Bacha*, *Mahasir*, *Kali-baus*, *Ghania*, *Chital*, *Bhetki*, *Pangash*, *Silas*, *Balia*, *Phashiya*, *Pabda*, *Popa*, *Chingri*, *Tangra*, *Gajar*, *Shail*, *Magur*, *Singi*, *Kai*, *Malia*, *Chang*, etc., are important.

**Utilisation of
Forest produces,
markets and line
of export.**

There are four principal tribes inhabiting the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are the Chakmas, Mugs, Tipras and the Lushais. In the more hilly and generally inaccessible areas the more primitive tribes like the Tanchangyas, Pankhos, Riangs and Kumis live. These tribal people along with some Bengalee outside settlers form the main source of labour force for extracting forest produces. The forest produces required by this people are mainly bamboos by which they not only construct their temporary Tong houses but also for many other domestic purposes. These produces can be easily obtained from the Unclassed State Forest.

Before the construction of the Kaptai dam, Barkal, Mainimukh, Subalongmukh, Belaichari and Chandraghona used to be the main centres where forest produces would have sold and purchased. The produces from the Unclassed State Forests

used to find their markets at Nazirhat, Dohazari, Chiringa, Fashiakhali, Ramu and Gundum. However, Chittagong continues to remain the main market of all the forest produces. Pakistan Eastern Railway and West Pakistan consume a very large portion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts timber.

Commercially, the most important timber species of Chittagong Hill Tracts are Teak, *Jarul*, *Gamar*, *Garjan*, *Chapalish*, *Toon*, *Koroi*, *Civit*, *Urium*, *Champa*, *Simul*, *Chandul*, etc. Commercially important produces.

These timbers are not only used for construction and furniture making but also for industrial raw material at saw-milling, plywood factories, match industries, etc.

Of the minor forest produces different types of bamboos are most important. In addition to other uses of bamboos, the Paper Mill and Rayon Mill at Chandraghona are being fed by bamboos. Of the other important minor forest produces, mention can be made of sunn—grass, cane, *chalmugra*, *garjan-oil*, *agar*, *kurushpat*, shingles, boulders, sands, etc. Minor forest produces.

Timber, bamboos, fuel and other minor forest produces are generally extracted through the main rivers and their tributaries. But unfortunately, due to the practice of shifting cultivation, huge quantities of top soil are being washed down resulting in the rise of these river beds which are gradually becoming unfit for navigation and rafting of forest produces.

Construction of the Kaptai Dam and the creation of the lake have facilitated extraction of forest produces by making many previously inaccessible areas now accessible.

The *pucca* roads from Rangamati and Kaptai to Chittagong have also become very important lines of export of forest produces from the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

There are three important methods by which the forest produces are disposed of, namely, (1) Royalty basis, (2) Auction and (3) Departmental Extraction. Methods of disposal of forest produces.

All minor produces, timber from the U.S.F. and occasionally some timber from the reserve forests are sold on permit system at previously fixed and Government approved royalty rate. Chandraghona Paper Mills has been enjoying a special concession. They pay even less than the royalty rate. This concession is mainly due to their opening up of difficult areas and for putting bamboos into industrial use. Royalty system.

Forest Industries Development Corporation extract huge quantities of timber from the Reserve Forest and they also pay a special rate for the produces they extract.

Forest Industries Development Corporation extract timber with the help of mechanical equipments like tractor, truck, winch, etc. They also use barges and tugs for carrying timber. They have, in addition, constructed many roads inside the forests areas.

Forest Industries Development Corporation is supposed to extract timber from comparatively more difficult areas where ordinary traders with their small capital cannot function.

Auction system.

The normal system of disposal of forest produces from the Reserve Forest is through auction system in which previously marked and listed trees are offered for sale in auction. There are many traders, both small and big, who participate in the auction.

Departmental Extraction.

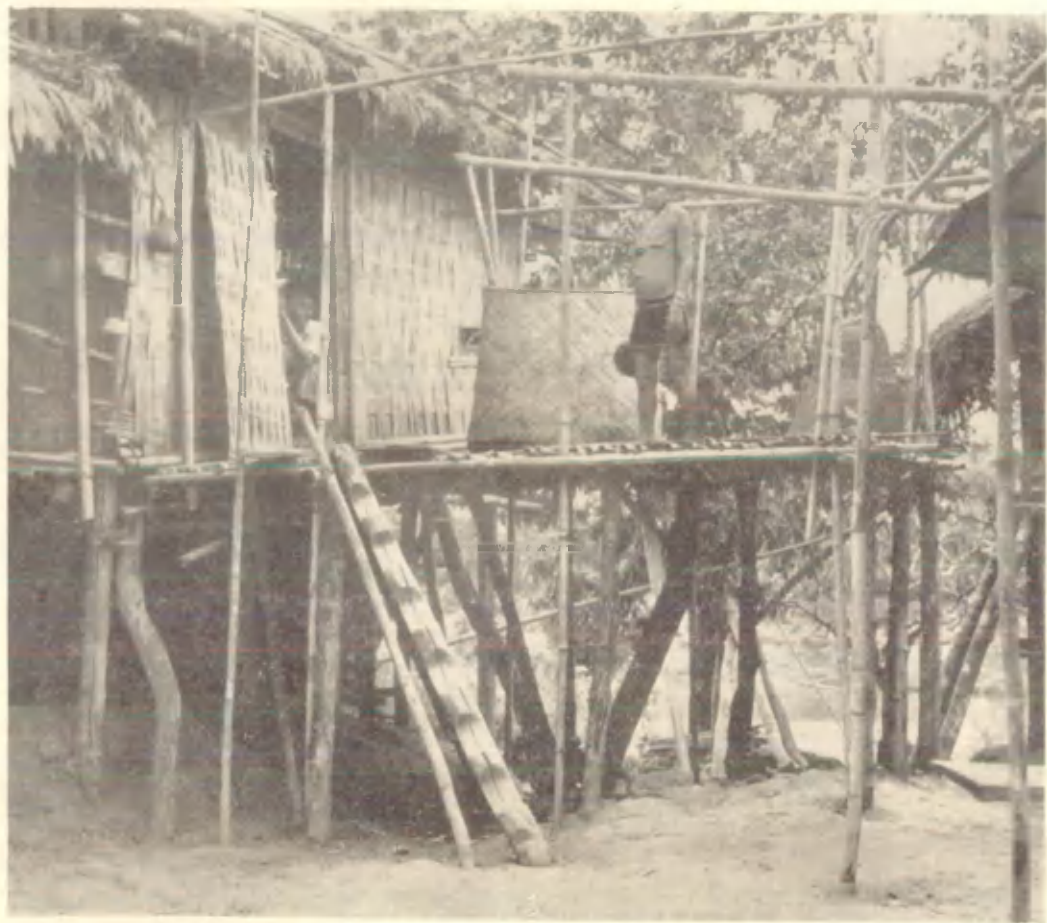
Only the most valuable teak forest are worked under this system in which the trees to be felled are previously marked and numbered. These trees are then felled and rafted to Chittagong where they are sold in auction.

Average Outturn of Forest Produces from the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

St. No.	Categories.	Reserve Forest.	Unclassed State Forest (U.S.F.).
1	Timber in cft. ...	18,25,306·70	11,50,380·00
2	Fire wood in cft, ...	24,83,900·00	9,48,625·00
3	Bamboos in Nos. ...	1,42,00,945	1,16,13,939
4	Sunn--grass (in bundles) ...	335	11,30,831
5	Brush-wood (in bundles) ...	253	...
6	Bamboo mats (in Nos.) ...	...	382
7	Bamboo baskets (in Nos.) ...	59	10,415
8	Cane (in Nos.) ...	2,72,643	76,142
9	Sand (in cft.) ...	8,010·00	80,600·00
10	Stone (in cft.) ...	49,050·00	3,87,710·00
11	Various other leaves (in bundles)	71,337	20,350
12	Creepers (in bundles) ...	87,952	9,123
13	Maida (a kind of reed) (in bundles) ...	1,000	5,18,875
14	Pati path (in bundles) ...	62	7

The general configuration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is undulating and the rainfall is comparatively high. Greater part of the Chittagong Hill Tracts has been subjected to very heavy shifting cultivation, a process which not only removes the vegetative cover of the soil but also loosens the soil to such an extent that even with scanty rainfall the speed of run-off becomes very high resulting in a rapid loss of top soil. The rapid run-off not only results in the loss of surface soil from the flat ridges and sloping sides of the hills but also cuts ravines on the hill slopes. So both sheet and gully erosion is very common in the Chittagong Hill Tracts particularly in the Unclassed State Forest region. The soil so washed down with the run-off finds its way on the beds of the big rivers, the Kaptai lake and also in the small streams. The silting up of the Kaptai lake and the rivers is taking place at an alarming rate and if it continues at its present rate the already difficult navigational problems may further aggravate and the flood problems may become more acute.

Management of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Forest particularly the forests of the catchment areas, need be treated on the principles of watershed management.



A dwelling house of the Mugh tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC CONDITION

Chittagong Hill Tracts has, according to the Census of 1961, a population of 3,85,079 in an area of 5,093 square miles. The population of the district is constituted mostly by tribal people; census of 1951 returned their percentage at more than 91. The district has the lowest density of population (76) in the province. A vast area of this district is covered by hills and jungle not fit for human habitation. Over the sixty years between 1901 and 1961, the population of the district increased by 164.30 per cent. over the ten years between 1951 and 1961. However, the decennial increase was the highest, i.e., 34.04 per cent. With the rapid increase of population, pressure on land has been on the increase, but the average size of cultivated family holding in the district is still higher than that of the provincial average (the average size in the district is 3.9 acres, while that in the province as a whole is 3.1 acres). Of the total population, 3,62,275 persons live in rural areas and 22,804 in urban areas. This means that 94.07 per cent. of the total population live in rural areas and the district has an insignificant urban area. Most of the urban population is concentrated in the headquarter town of Rangamati.

Increase of population and its pressure on land.

The economy of the district is predominantly agricultural. The overwhelming majority of the hillmen are agriculturists and depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Persons in business, trade, professions and government service form a very small percentage of the population. Trade and commerce of the district are mostly in the hands of outsiders. Fishing, though practised, had been on an extremely limited scale before. The Census of 1951 has shown 462 as the number of fishermen in the district. The Kaptai reservoir, however, has given a fillip to fishing and more and more people find it profitable to engage in fish catching.

Predominantly agrarian economy.

The economy of the district is on a subsistence level, the hillmen produce to satisfy their own needs. Besides cultivation, they practise other arts that meet the needs of life other than those immediately connected with food. They build their own houses, make their own looms, weave their own dresses, make their baskets, manufacture their household utensils, agricultural implements, drink and so on. Weaving once used to be very widespread, and even today, almost every household has a loom. However, the development of commercial activities which is taking place in the area, tends to introduce new

A subsistence economy.

Change toward a commercial economy.

sources of income for the hillmen. Some educated hillmen work for Government; others are engaged in new industrial projects along the Karnafuli river, or work for the contractors who recruit them for factory labour.

Economic condition in the 19th century.

Mr. W.W. Hunter, in "The statistical Account of Bengal", (1876) has described the material condition of the people of the district during the 19th century in the following words:

"With the exception of the Chiefs and a few headmen, the people are generally poor. They cultivate their patches of jungle until the soil within easy reach of their village is exhausted, and then they move away to a fresh spot. In the case of a bad harvest they borrow from Bengali traders and money-lenders, trusting to good crops in the future to enable them to repay the loan. Repayment is also made by supplying boats, timber, or bamboos. The hillmen, and more especially the Khyoungtha (Maghs) and Tipperahs, are excessively fond of spirituous liquor. The Deputy Commissioner stated, in 1870, that from careful inquiries he had made, he was convinced that at least half of a hill-man's income goes in liquor".

Economic condition in the early part of the 20th century.

There is no consensus of opinion on the economic condition of the people in the early part of the 20th century. Mr. Hutchinson, writing the Gazetteer of the district in 1906, stated the following:

"Taken as a whole, the hill people are exceedingly well off. They get three rice meals a day and seldom have a meal without some sort of relish; while fish, flesh of goats, pig and fowl.....are frequent additions to the daily meal. There are occasions of scarcity when the rice supply is not sufficient to carry them through the year, and doubtless a considerable amount of inconvenience is felt at such times. They are well clothed and surround themselves with articles of luxury, amongst which may be mentioned cotton quilts, brass utensils, umbrellas, warm shawls and blankets, and in prosperous years are very liberal in bestowing silver jewellery on their folk".

The Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, in his report on the economic condition of the Hill Tracts in 1917 on the contrary remarked the following:

"The economic condition of the hillmen is deplorable, and is said to be getting worse every year. The first

thing that strikes a visitor is the awful destitution of the people. Since 1911 there has been repeated distress every year".

Mr. F.D. Ascoli, in his "Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts", published in 1918, argued that the general economic condition of the hill people was rather satisfactory. Of course, Mr. Ascoli admitted that the condition of the hill people varied not only from year to year, but also from one season of the year to another, because of rich or poor harvest. In order to determine whether any real destitution on an extensive scale actually existed, Mr. Ascoli put forward the following arguments:

"The house of the hillman is built entirely of bamboos, and any comparison with the house of plainsman is impossible; though the village has become stable, the hillman has not yet learned to build a more permanent house: the bamboo house serves its purpose, is economical to construct and cool to dwell in, and the necessity of periodic rebuilding is certainly a very sanitary benefit. It is accordingly entirely incorrect to judge the condition of the hillman by the nature of his abode. To judge entirely by dress is equally unreliable; the habit of the Mrung woman is to be practically nude, the old-fashioned Chakma still relies on his rough homespuns, and the Magh would not be himself, except on festive occasions, unless clothed in filthy and malodorous garb. And yet there is no doubt that with the import of fine cloths and silks, the garb of the hillman is far superior to that of the past. To judge the condition of the hillman by the eye one must look to the ornaments of his women, and his goods and chattels. Of the many houses in the three circles, both of jhumias and of plough cultivators, that I have examined, there were none in which the women did not possess a considerable amount of silver ornaments, which certainly did not bear the aspect of the acquisition of a single year of plenty. In the majority of houses were found brass *lotas* and plates, which were not in use 50 years ago, and attached to the homestead were seen seldom less than three pigs, sometimes goats and invariably a complement of fowls. These are sure signs of opulence in a hill district..... There is no doubt that the standard of comfort and living have increased to a phenomenal

extent within the past fifty years; the ordinary homespun thread is now despised, and I have found even the poorest families able to afford the expense of *bilati-suta* for their home-woven cloths. The adult hillman consumes the large amount of three-fourths of a seer of rice per day flavoured with dried fish imported from Chittagong; he frequently eats meat, and constantly vegetables, while his rice-brew is seldom absent. Tobacco is his constant companion and his meals are eaten thrice a day. This is emphatically not a picture of destitution, and it is difficult to understand the fact that distress is reported almost annually.....and it need now merely be stated that the hillman will not live below the new standard of luxury; in his improvidence he eats and spends away what he should clearly reserve for the months of want; in his want he declines to be content with anything except his normal articles of diet”.

Economic condition in the 1950's.

The Census Report of 1951 reported the following:

“The economic condition of this district is very unsatisfactory. Trade is entirely in the hands of outsiders. There are 66 bazars in this district and only a few shops in them belong to men of the district. The itinerant traders also are practically all Bengalees from Chittagong district”.

Income and expenditure of Jhum Family in the past.

The income of a hillman in the past consisted of produce from jhum cultivation. Captain Lewin reported in 1869 that each family ordinarily cut 9 *Kanis* or 3.60 acres of jhum and that the average produce of such a jhum amounted to 72 maunds of paddy, 12 maunds of cotton, besides vegetables, *til*, etc. For the sustenance of a family in a state of surfeit of comfort 40 maunds of paddy would be required, leaving 32 maunds for sale. Allowing the family 2 maunds of cotton for its own consumption (an excessive estimate) 10 maunds would remain for sale. Excluding the sale of sesamum and vegetables he would in the period between 1860 and 1870 obtain a sum of Rs.70 to Rs.80 by the sale of his excess paddy and cotton. These figures indicated an average year—a year neither of plenty nor of scarcity and it should be noted that good crops of paddy and cotton would never be reaped in the same year; the former requires a wet, the latter a dry season.

Mr. Ascoli in his report in 1918 suggested that there had been a decrease in the effective income of the then jhumia on the basis of the above figures. He accepted the estimate of

Mr. Hutchinson in the last Gazetteer of the district. Mr. Hutchinson calculated the average size of the jhum at 2 acres; the average outturn was placed at 20 maunds of paddy per acre, and 5 maunds of cotton per acre. Allowing 40 maunds of paddy and 2 maunds of cotton (same as above) for home consumption the amounts available for sale would be—

Paddy—nil.

8 maunds of cotton at Rs.8.00 to Rs.10.00 per maund—
Rs.64 to 80.

If the Jhumia cut the same area as his predecessor in 1870, his profits would increase by Rs.128 to Rs.144. There was a proportionate increase in the profits derived from the sale of seasmum and vegetables. In 1918, as in 1870, the jhumia was able to increase his income by cutting bamboos and other forest produce.

Both the above figures show that the average jhum would support a family in comfort and that the profit of the latter jhumia was limited, only because the area of his jhum had decreased; this may be due either to laziness or to lack of jhum land. Finally, the average outturn may be seldom realised owing to climatic changes, and deterioration of jhum land.

An idea of the economic position of the plough cultivator of the district may be gathered from the following account of Mr. Ascoli, published in 1918.

Economic condition of the plough cultivator.

“There is no doubt that the economic position of the plough cultivator is better than in the most favoured districts of Bengal. In one *mauza*, Maischeri in the Chengri Valley, a *mauza* full of plough cultivators, I found the estimated stock of paddy in the village to be 24,000 maunds, averaging no less than 300 maunds per family, the available surplus stock amounting to 20,000 maunds, valued at normal rates at Rs.40,000. This is typical of areas under the plough, and is due to the extraordinary fertility of the soil. Paddy land producing only 40 maunds per acre is considered poor; the average exceeds 50 maunds, and I have seen instances where an outturn of 70 maunds was admitted. The rice is of good quality. Sugarcane of excellent quality can be grown and the profit exceeds Rs.300 per acre; the profits from tobacco exceed Rs.120 per acre; mustard grows freely and is heavy in the pod; vegetables, chilis, cucumbers and pumpkins

grow abundantly in the more sandy soils. The value of the produce of a normal 4 acre holding, capable of being ploughed by a single pair of buffaloes, would exceed Rs.500..... The rate of rent is low and his economic condition is in every way stranger than that of his brethren, whom I have seen and known in the Dacca Division and in the district of Howrah."

Economic condition according to the Soil and Land Use Survey of 1964-66.

The Soil and Land Use Survey Report, 1964-66 gives an idea of the present economic condition of the district. The Survey has classified the economy of the district into four sample segments: Jhum, Mixed Plantation, Rehabilitation and Paddy. The average farm family income and expenditure of these segments were worked out and on the basis of these the weighted average income and expenditure for farm families of the district as a whole were derived. The weighted average annual gross income of a farm family in the district was worked out to be Rs.2,263.06 and weighted average annual gross expenditure Rs.804.16. So the weighted average annual net farm family income for the district as a whole was Rs.1,458.90. The per capita income was Rs.197.01. The average net family income represents the money available to the average family for purchasing food and other commodities and for investment. The following table summarizes average net income per farm family and per capita for each sample segment and for the district as a whole :

Segments and the district.	Average net income of family (in Rs.).	Per capita income (Rs.).
Jhum Segment ...	978.31	164.64
Mixed Plantation Segment ...	542.93	86.32
Rehabilitation Segment ...	1,884.50	223.28
Paddy Segment ...	2,020.53	266.91
The district figure (weighted average)	1,458.90	197.01

Pattern of living of the hillmen; Dwelling house.

The hillmen live a simple life. Their way of life and pattern of living are in conformity with the occupations they follow. They live in villages, very few of which have more than five hundred inhabitants. Houses are built entirely of bamboo with a *machan* (platform) floor raised some six feet above the ground. The house is divided into compartments. In the event of several families living together the rooms are apportioned in due order of seniority. In the front of the

house is a verandah which is divided into two by a mat partition for the use of the males and females separately. In the front of the verandah is a big open space or raised platforms, used for various household purposes. Small compartments are erected on this for the storage of grain, cotton, or household effects, but as a rule the grain is stored away from the house for safety in case of fire.

The furniture and utensils of an ordinary hill-house consist of a few stools, mats, baskets, drinking cups made of bamboo and earthen wares. Brass *lotas* and plates are also found in majority of the houses.

Furniture and
Utensils.

The ordinary food of the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts consists of rice, fish, vegetables, oil, salt and chillies. *Pan* and betelnut are also universally taken by the Maghs. The tribes all drink intoxicating liquors. Tobacco is also in use amongst some of the tribes. The Maghs, in particular, are addicted to drink, opium and tobacco cheroot. The Magh women are as inveterate smokers as the men. The hillmen will practically eat all flesh, be it bird, beast or reptile. Amongst the last named, snake and Iguana Lizards are esteemed as tit-bits. They are all very fond of pig's flesh and they tend their swine with great care feeding them regularly with excellent food.

Food.

The dress varies with the tribes. Chakma women wear a long skirt made of a rectangular piece of blue cloth with a red stripe, that they wrap around the body and tuck in at the waist. To this they add a breast band and white turban. The men wear *dhoti*, coat and white turban. The Magh men wear *lungis*, a turban of white cloth and a white or black short jacket. The Magh women wear petticoat of cotton or silk and a home-spun cloth about ten inches in width that is worn tightly round the bosom. They wear also *lungis* and have a liking for *sarees*. As for the Mro, men wear a white loin-cloth and white turban. On ceremonial occasions they let part of the loin-cloth hang behind, a fashion of every day use in the past, which earned for them the name of "monkey tribe". The women wear a rectangular piece of cloth about one foot wide which they wrap around the waist in the fashion of a short apron, the left side remaining open. Unmarried girls add a coloured shawl on their shoulders. The Tipras wear a home-spun turban and a narrow piece of cloth passed once round the waist and between the legs with a fringe hanging down in front and rear. In the cold season they wear in addition a rudely sewn jacket. The women wear

Dress.

a petticoat similar to that worn by the Chakma women; unmarried girls generally cover the breasts with a coloured cloth.

The dress of the other smaller groups is more or less the same, with slight variations. Nowadays some hill children wear European clothes.

Ornaments.

The females of almost all the tribes wear ornaments, mostly of silver. The Magh women wear gold or silver bracelets and necklaces and hollow cones of silver through the lobes of the ear. The ornaments of the Chakma women consist of silver ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets and anklets. Both sexes of Tipras wear crescent shaped silver ear-rings and the women a curious nose skewer, with hair, neck, wrist and ankle ornaments in silver. The females of the Banjogis and Pankhos have no silver ornaments, but wear several necklaces of beads and chaplets of the same in their hair, and brass bangles. The ornaments of the Khayengs women are similar to those worn by Magh women.

Economic status of Population (1961). Agricultural labour force and its division.

According to the Census of 1961, the total agricultural labour force in the district was 1,90,545. Persons not in civilian labour force but either doing household work or were dependents numbered 1,69,824. So a total of 3,60,369 persons get their sustenance directly from agriculture. Of the total agricultural labour force 1,90,222 were cultivators and agricultural labourers, 106 herdsmen and animal breeders, 82 hunters and trappers and 78 dairy farmers and poultry keepers. The rest were nursery workers, *malis*, gardeners and bee keepers, etc.

Non-agricultural labour force.

The number of non-agricultural labour force in the district was 323 in 1961. This constitutes a negligible percentage of the total population and showed that almost the whole of the labour force of the district is engaged in agriculture.

Subsidiary occupations.

A section of the agricultural labour force of the district was also found engaged in some non-agricultural subsidiary occupations. The total number of them was 6,245 (4,187 men and 2,058 women) according to 1961 Census. The percentage of total agricultural labour force engaged in subsidiary occupations in the district was 3.27, whereas the corresponding figure for the province was 5 per cent. in the same year.

Persons of the district getting employment in subsidiary occupations may be classified under the following ten heads:

Professional and Technical.

(1) In the professional and technical group, there were 369 men and 17 women; total 386. Of these, school teachers and private tutors were 180 (177 men,

3 women); imams, muazzins and religious workers were 90 (88 men, 2 women); hakims, apothecaries; midwives and other health workers were 87 (79 men, 8 women); lawyers and legal assistants were 2 men only; persons in other professional and technical occupations were 27 (23 men, 4 women).

- (2) In the administrative, clerical and office group, there were in all 122 persons, all of them men. Clerks and maharis were 39; peons, duftaris and chawkidars were 79; persons in other administrative and office occupations were 4. Administrative, clerical and office.
- (3) There were a total of 676 persons (620 men; 56 women) in the group of shopkeepers and sales workers. Of them, shopkeepers were 403 (375 men, 28 women); hawkers were 128 (112 men, 16 women); trade and commercial workers were 130 (118 men, 12 women); persons in other selling occupations were 15 men only. Shopkeepers and Sales workers.
- (4) A total of 883 persons (729 men, 154 women) were engaged in forestry and fishing occupations. Of these, 551 (475 men, 76 women) were wood-cutters and charcoal burners; 71 (67 men, 4 women) were collectors of gums, herbs, etc.; 261 (187 men, 74 women) were fishermen. Forestry and Fishing occupation.
- (5) In the transport occupations group, there were a total of 74 male workers only. Of them drivers of power driven vehicles were 38; drivers of animals and animal drawn vehicles were 20; boatmen and launchmen were 11; the number of persons in other transport occupations was 5. Transport occupations.
- (6) Food, drink and tobacco processing occupations provided employment to 302 persons (234 men; 68 women). The number of grains, flour millers, rice huskers, etc., was 97 (66 men, 31 women); gur and sugar makers were 41 (35 men, 18 women); bidi makers were 74 (71 men, 3 women); other food, etc., processing workers were 39 (31 men, 8 women). Food, drink and Tobacco processing occupation.
- (7) In the group of manufacturing workers and craftsmen, textile and leather, there were a total of 1,011 persons (443 men, 568 women). Of them, 866 (352 men, 514 women) were weavers and spinners; 38 (15 men, 23 women) were textile dyers and printers; 51 men were tailors and dress makers; 30 (25 men, 5 women) Manufacturing workers and craftsmen, textile.

were boots and shoe makers, leather workers; women were other textile workers.

- (8) The total number of manufacturing workers and crafts-
men, non-textile, were 940 (415 men, 525 women).
Blacksmith and mechanics were 9 men; jewellers,
gold and silver smiths were 52 (50 men, 2 women);
cabinet makers, other wood workers were 52 (22
men, 30 women); Bamboo, cane and basket
workers were 827 (334 men, 493 women). Manufacturing,
craftsman
workers and
non-textile.
- (9) The building and construction occupations offered work
to 1,110 persons (761 men, 349 women). Carpen-
ters were 47 men; brick layers, stone masons were
32 men; general labourers were 1,001 (652 men,
349 women); other building workers were 30 men. Building and
Construction
occupations.
- (10) In the service workers group, there were 741 persons Service workers.
(420 men, 321 women). Out of them, cooks and
domestic servants were 141 (51 men, 90 women);
barbers were 59 (54 men, 5 women); washermen
were 147 (105 men, 42 women); hotels and restau-
rant servants were 33 (20 men, 13 women); Other
service workers were 108 (61 men, 47 women);
persons in other occupations not classed were 253
(129 men and 124 women).

According to the Pakistan Census of Agriculture (1960, Agricultural
holding and size.
Vol. I) total number of agricultural holdings in the district
was 43,550, which was 0.67 per cent. of total agricultural
holdings of East Pakistan. The total number of farms in the
district was 42,400 (which was 0.66 per cent. of that in the
province) and total number of livestock holdings was 1,150 (less
than 0.5 per cent. of that in the province). The total farm
area in the district was 1,72,628 acres. The average size of
farm area was 4.1, the provincial figure for the same was 3.5.
The total cultivated area of the district was 1,65,195 acres, the
average size of a holding being 3.9 (the provincial figure for
the same being 3.1).

Out of the total number of 42,400 farms, the number of
owner farms was 40,710 the total area of which was 1,63,160
acres (this represented 95 per cent. of the total farm area of
the district), of which 1,56,033 acres were cultivated. The
number of owner-cum-tenant farms was 1,540, the total area of
which was 8,927 acres, of which 8,634 acres were cultivated.
The number of tenant farms was 150, the total area of which
was 541 acres, of which 528 acres were cultivated.

According to Land Revenue Administration Report of 1965-66, the total area of the district was 32,59,520 acres; the area under forest was 29,02,739 acres; the area not available for cultivation was 1,70,981 acres; the area of cultivable waste land was 45,000 acres; the net cropped area was 1,30,000 acres; the area under current fallow was 1,08,000 acres; the area sown more than once was 93,002 acres; and the total cropped area was 2,23,002 acres.

The total number of agricultural families in the district was 43,550 as revealed by the Pakistan Census of Agriculture (1960, Vol. I). On an average each family consists of 6 members; the figure coincides with the provincial average. A number of about 3.6 persons out of an average family of 6 is in civilian labour force in the district (55.9 per cent. which is the highest in the Province, as shown by the Census of 1961), as against about 2 persons out of 6 on an average in the Province (34.3 per cent.).

Average size of agricultural family and the economic status of each family.

Jhum is the system of cultivation traditionally more in practice in the district than plough cultivation. A description of jhum cultivation is given in the following lines. The bamboos of a piece of forest land, preferably a hilly one, are cut and the smaller trees are felled; but large trees are only denuded of their lower branches. The cut-jhum is then allowed to dry in the sun and after a certain period it is burnt. The burning reduces all but the large forest trees to ashes, and burns the soil to the depth of an inch or two; the ground is then cleared of charred logs and debris and then the approach of rain is awaited. As soon as heavy rain falls and saturates the ground, sowing commences and the jhum is planted with mixed seeds of paddy, cotton, melon, cucumber, pumpkin, yarn, *til* or sesame and maize. The different crops are harvested at different times as they become mature for harvesting. From a successful jhum a quantity of as much as 80 maunds of paddy is harvested in return for one maund sown, but the average is between 25 and 30 maunds. Men only, working together, cut the jhum for the whole village, the women and children do the weeding, tending and harvesting.

Jhum cultivation.

The results of jhum cultivation are, however, precarious and the system is a wasteful one. It utterly exhausts the land which becomes unfit for another crop for about 5 years or more, and so each year a jhumia is required to search for fresh land and the operations are gone through all over again to the great destruction annually of large quantities of timber, bamboos, etc., of considerable value. Due to jhum cultivation

The economic aspect of Jhum cultivation.

deep forests are disappearing and sunngrass and other miscellaneous shrubs are taking their place making the lands unfit for future jhum cultivation. Moreover, on account of the disappearance of forests, great erosion is taking place here and there during the rains. The soil is becoming poorer and poorer every year due to the above processes, good jhum lands are becoming scarce, especially in the Chakma circle. This method of cultivation is now being discouraged in favour of better and more scientific methods.

Plough cultivation.

Apart from jhum cultivation, hillmen also practise plough cultivation. But this method is not indigenous to the Hill Tracts; it was introduced by the Bengalees who were invited by the tribal "Rajas" to settle on the lower part of the hills, where irrigation was possible. From the quantitative point of view, however, jhum cultivation is still of importance to the economy of the Hills than the latter.

The impact of Karnafuli Hydel Project on the economy.

The socio-economic condition of a large section of the people of the district was affected by the construction of Karnafuli Multi-purpose Hydel Project and the formation of its reservoir. The Karnafuli Hydel Project, submerged 125 Mauzas, houses of 18,000 families; approximately one lakh of people were displaced from their hearths and homes. The project also submerged 54,000 acres of plough lands which is about 40 per cent. of the entire plough lands of the district. Besides, it submerged 10.5 square miles of Reserved Forest. Fertile valleys of the district like Karnafuli, Heingkhong, Chengi, Kassalong and Maini have gone under submersion.

Rehabilitation and compensation.

In consideration of the backwardness of the tribal people of this district as well as for the sacrifice that they made for the good of the rest of the country Government took up the responsibility to compensate and rehabilitate the displaced persons. The total cost of compensation and rehabilitation of the displaced persons has already been about rupees seven crore. A majority of the displaced families have been rehabilitated on the upper reaches of rivers Kassalong and Chengi and also a certain percentage has been rehabilitated in other non-submerged areas of Bandarban and Ramgarh subdivisions. Rehabilitation scheme envisages the economic rehabilitation of the people on a sound basis.

The people affected have been paid compensation for their lands, trees and structures. The expenditure on the item of compensation (up to completion in 1967-68) was Rs.4,14,90,541. Besides paying them compensation, these people were also given lands under rehabilitation scheme in lieu of the lands they lost.

The largest concentration of the rehabilitated persons is at Kassalong where the Reserved Forest has been de-reserved and the plain lands made available to them.

Of the affected families, 5,440 families were staying on hill top within the submersion area in 1966-67. These families are being taken to plantation programme for their economic rehabilitation. About 10,825 acres of hilly lands have been allotted to them, out of which about 6,060 acres have actually been brought under plantation till June, 1969. Seeds, seedlings, suckers, fertilizers, etc., are being supplied to the families on loan in kind on long term basis. The Rehabilitation Department has also set up five cottage industries centres for carpentry and weaving where boys and girls are being given training in carpentry as well as in weaving. The large scale plantation of mulberry has been done in this district.

Plantation
Programme.

A Subsidised Power Pump Irrigation Scheme at Kassalong was undertaken to irrigate 5,000 acres of land. The scheme has recently been completed at a cost of Rs.4,23,000.

Another scheme namely Supplementary Karnafuli Project Rehabilitation Scheme at an estimated cost of Rs.108 lakhs is in progress to rehabilitate 6,293 families, to induct 3,000 families to fishing and to reclaim 1,000 acres of bumpy land. About 58 per cent. of the work has been completed at a cost of about Rs.43,00,000.

Supplementary
Rehabilitation
scheme.

Socio-economic pattern of life of these displaced persons will undergo a radical change inas much as most of the newly rehabilitated families will have to eke out their livelihood from fruit gardens and other types of cultivation of the hill slopes. In the rehabilitation scheme provision has been made (and for that matter money is being spent) to provide road, communication, dispensaries, schools, markets and bazars, drinking water facilities, transport facilities and shifting allowance and also straight grant to the displaced families. A model town has been built up at Kassalong at a cost of Rs.11,00,000 to provide modern amenities of life to the displaced persons. The underlying idea of the rehabilitation scheme is not to patch up but to effect revolutionary changes in the outlook of the people so that they can look forward and take to new ways of life.

Socio-economic
changes.

The indebtedness of the hillmen is not of recent origin. From time unknown they have been in debt. "The hillmen", wrote Captain Lewin in 1866, "is naturally improvident. By his improvidence he is driven yearly to have recourse to borrowing money from the Bengali *mahajan* who do not fail to exact

Indebtedness of
the hillmen in
the 19th century,

an almost ruinous rate of interest from him. Although able to pay the original debt contracted, the hillman struggles vainly against the load imposed upon him by the ruinous rate of interest charged by the *mahajan*, and although by a system of renewal of the bills against him he may postpone the evil day, yet eventually the crash comes, and he is sold up to meet his liabilities".

Indebtedness in
the early 20th
century.

Mr. Ascoli, in his "Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" (1918), pointed out that the load of debt still hung upon the hillman's neck but he was of opinion that the picture of debt as drawn by Captain Lewin was painted in severed colours; the process of selling up was hardly so frequent an occurrence as was suggested by Captain Lewin. At an early stage in the British administration of the Hill Tracts, steps were taken to control the system of borrowing by making compulsory the registration of all bonds for money borrowed or contracts for the delivery of country produce; at a later stage courts were prohibited from granting decrees at a rate of interest exceeding 12 per cent. per annum.

Writing about the nature and extent of indebtedness of the hillmen during the early part of the present century Mr. Ascoli further pointed out that the indebtedness of the jhumia did not constitute his agricultural capital. Debt was incurred in seasons of want and for the purpose of ceremonies and feasts. "While it may be possible", says Mr. Ascoli, "to fortify the economic position of the jhumia against periods of distress, his spendthrift character will undoubtedly survive many generations of training. Indebtedness will accordingly continue".

Mr. Ascoli placed the average indebtedness of a family during that time at less than Rs.50, or approximately a total of 15 lakhs of rupees for the whole area. This amount of debt was infinitesimal compared with the total of any regulation district of Bengal. It amounted to some Rs.300 per square mile, and could be cleared off, if each family cut and sold approximately 15,000 bamboos a feat well within the powers of the people and within the resources of the area. But it was equally clear that the *mahajan* was as averse to the complete realisation of the debt as was the debtor, and the position of the *mahajan* was not altogether a pleasant one. To advance money to a jhumia contained large elements of risk; his house was of no value, and he could remove lock, stock and barrel and disappear to Arakan or Hill Tippera at a moment's notice. The only security was the growing crop; and the jhum crop being of an uncertain nature did not constitute very

valuable security. The *mahajan* accordingly attempted to secure his position; for example, in Kukurticheri a man had taken a loan of one maund of rice valued at Rs.4 and 4 annas repayment was demanded in three maunds of cotton valued at Rs.36 from that year's crop; in Andharmanik a loan of two bags of rice valued at Rs.8 and 8 annas was given on condition that Rs.20 was repaid out of the proceeds of the growing crop. These transactions were treated not so much as loans as sales on credit. Where the borrower was a plough cultivator and accordingly more stable, he was able to obtain rather better terms, e.g., repayment of bamboos, cane, or timber, but in all cases much to the advantage of the *mahajan*. One was struck by the incontrovertible fact that the hillman was unable to strike a fair bargain with the *mahajan*. The debt, once incurred, was never cleared; enforcement of payment was seldom necessary; but the debtor remained in a permanent entanglement of debt.

Mr. Ascoli remarked that it was never necessary for the hillmen to fall into debt; but it was an undoubted fact that debts would continue to accrue. Besides loan from individual *mahajans*, as the Report of Mr. Ascoli reveals, the hillmen used to get agricultural loans from the Government for relief of distress. The table below summarizes the outstanding agricultural loans advanced by the Government to the hillmen from 1911 to 1918. (Source—Report of Mr. Ascoli).

Year of issue of loan.		Amount issued.			Principal realised.			Interest realised.			Over due principal.		
		Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P
1911-12	..	107,841	0	0	47,747	5	0	2,138	8	8	60,093	11	0
1912-13	..	1,14,841	0	0	23,843	14	3	933	15	9	90,997	1	9
1916-17	..	23,427	0	0	9,414	8	2	512	12	8	14,012	7	10
1917-18	..	8,368	0	0	229	0	0	2	6	3	8,139	0	0
Total		2,54,477	0	0	81,234	11	5	3,587	11	4	1,73,242	4	7

All these loans were issued on account of agricultural distress, the first three loans to jhumias, the last to plough cultivators. The first loan was granted (on account of damage to jhuma) in 1911, the second in 1912, the third in 1916 and

the fourth on account of floods in 1917. In the six years previous to 1911, loans were issued on three occasions, in 1905-1906 on account of distress, in 1906-1907 and 1907-1908 mainly for the purchase of plough cattle. Loans issued in cash for these three years amounted to Rs.39,490. A further sum of Rs.80,000 was advanced as agricultural loans in 1906 on account of distress. This loan was distributed in kind.

**Indebtedness in
1960.**

The Pakistan Census of Agriculture (Vol. I) in 1960 revealed the extent of rural indebtedness in the district. Out of the total of 42,400 farms, 14,050 farms, or 33 per cent. of the total number of farms was reported in debt. The table overleaf will indicate the position of debt of the hillmen.

Farms reporting debt, classified by size of debt and size of farm:—

Farms Reporting Debt.

Size of Farm (Acres).	All farms.	Total.	Per cent. of all farms.	Rs.							Rs.		
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
								1-99	100-249	250-499	500-999	1,000-1,999	2,000 and over.
Under 0.5	..	1,320	140	11	100	20	10	..	..	..	..	..	10
0.5 to under 1.0	..	3,240	740	23	680	50	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
1.0 to under 2.5	..	14,470	4,630	32	3,390	950	240	50	..	..	..	..	..
2.5 to under 5.0	..	12,560	4,490	36	2,710	1,370	320	90	..	..	..	..	..
5.0 to under 7.5	..	5,500	2,070	38	910	800	260	90	..	..	..	..	10
7.5 to under 12.5	..	3,610	1,390	39	450	540	310	70	20	..	..	..	..
12.5 to under 25.0	..	1,500	530	35	60	210	160	80	20	..	..	..	..
25.0 to under 40.0	..	180	60	33	10	10	20	10	10	..	..	..	..
40.0 and over	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
District Total	..	42,400	14,050	33	8,310	3,950	1,330	390	50	20	..	..	..

**Institutional
Credit:
Co-operative
Societies.**

Co-operative Societies form an important source of institutional credit in the district at present. Co-operative movement in this district dates back from the year 1937. Only two societies were organised and registered before the Independence, viz., (1) The Sale and Supply Society, Ltd. and (2) the Rangamati Government Employees Co-operative Society. Since Independence the Co-operative movement has extended throughout the district.

Up to the middle of 1966, there were in all 93 Societies (including one Central Co-operative Bank, one Central Society and one Co-operative Union) in the district. The total working capital of these societies was Rs.18,56,019-00.

There is only one Co-operative Central Bank in this district, which was organised in the year 1960-61 to channelise all kinds of loan to the primary societies. The Co-operative Central Bank received and issued the following loans during the Second Five-year Plan and the year 1965-66.

Year.	Loans received.	Development loans issued.			Total Loans issued.
		Production Loan.	Marketing Loan.	Servicing Loan.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1960-61	2,00,000-00	90,000-00	30,000-00	15,000-00	1,35,000-00
1961-62	2,00,000-00	90,000-00	30,000-00	15,000-00	1,35,000-00
1962-63	98,000-00	30,000-00	10,000-00	5,000-00	45,000-00
1963-64	2,000-00	1,50,000-00	50,000-00	25,000-00	2,25,000-00
1964-65	..	45,000-00	15,000-00	7,500-00	67,500-00
1965-66	2,00,000-00	15,000-00	500-00	2,500-00	22,500-00
Total	7,00,000-00	4,20,000-00	1,40,000-00	70,000-00	6,30,000-00

Primary Societies distributed the production loan to the members. The marketing loan and servicing loan were utilised for marketing of agricultural produces and supply of the daily necessities of life and farm requisites. Each society has been provided with a marketing godown. Twelve societies received Rs.5,40,000 at the rate of Rs.45,000 each and 4 societies received Rs.90,000 at the rate of Rs.22,500 each.

Another significant source of institutional credit for agricultural purpose in the district is the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan. A pay office of the bank was established at Rangamati in the year 1961. In March, 1964 this pay office was upgraded into a branch. The second branch of the bank was opened at Bandarban in April, 1969.

Agricultural
Development
Bank of
Pakistan.

These branches of the bank advance loans to individuals engaged in agriculture or in the development of agriculture or agricultural products or in cottage industry or in storage, warehousing, marketing or processing of agricultural produce and any registered public or private limited company or co-operatives that satisfy the bank that the loan to be taken shall be spent on agriculture. The term "agriculture" includes horticulture, forestry, fishery, animal husbandry, poultry farm, dairy farm, bee keeping and sericulture. The rate of interest charged by the bank on loans at present is 7 per cent. per annum.

Loans advanced by the bank are of three types: short-term loan repayable within 18 months, medium-term loan repayable within 5 years on annual instalment basis and long-term loan for period exceeding 5 years.

Since its inception in the district the bank advanced, up to August, 1969, a total loan of Rs.38,29,000. Whereas in 1964-65, the branch at Rangamati advanced a loan of Rs.3,85,000, the amount advanced increased to Rs.8,55,000 in 1967-68. In 1968-69, the amount advanced was Rs.6,65,000. For mechanisation of agriculture the bank has so far distributed 20 power tillers and 44 power pumps to the farmers of the district.

The Government also provide loans to the hillmen for agricultural purposes. An amount of Rs.27,58,048.15 was outstanding at the beginning of the year 1965-66 as various agricultural loans. A sum of Rs.2,00,000 was sanctioned and advanced during the year 1965-66 as agricultural productive and seed and fertilizer loans. For relief of distress caused by flood and cyclone, advances are also made to them; an amount of Rs.3,88,349.82 was outstanding on 1st July 1965. During the year 1965-66 a sum of Rs.1,00,000 was sanctioned and advanced as flood loan.

Government
Loans.

Up to 1860, the only method of cultivation in the district was that of jhum: plough cultivation was unknown. People who cultivated by jhum in the hills used to pay jhum rent. The jhum rent, in reality, was a house-tax, varying individually in amount, but levied only on the head of each household or family who cultivated by jhum in the hills.

Early Jhum rent.

Jhum rent during the later part of the 19th century.

The Government of Bengal in January 1870, ordered that the Kapas or Jhum tax was to be collected only from those who adopted jhum cultivation and the sum of Rs.4 was fixed as the amount of jhum tax payable by each family. There were inequalities in the amount of jhum tax paid in the three circles (Chakma circle, Bohmong circle, Mong circle), but this rested on tribal custom and no attempt was made to equalise the tax or prescribe a uniform rate of payment throughout the district, but the courts then recognised the sum of Rs.4 as a legal tender in full as payment for one year's jhum tax on one family. This tax was a tribute payable to the State; it in no way partook of the nature of rent, or bore any relation to the land cultivated. In 1874, the Government of Bengal decided the jhum tax of Rs.4 a family should be taken as the basis of assessment. Of this amount, one rupee was to be assigned to the village headman for the trouble of collection, and two rupees to the circle chief, the remaining one rupee to be paid by the chief as Government revenue.

Mr. F.D. Ascoli in the "Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" gives the following table for jhum tax collection for different years up to 1915.

Area.	1860.	1880.	1895.	1905.	1915.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
Chakma Circle	2,085 0	1,097 0	3,155 12	4,553 0	9,569 8
Mong Circle	1,021 0	3,034 12	2,314 0	3,478 0	4,264 8
Bohmong Circle	2,918 0	2,918 0	2,918 0	5,772 0	10,687 0
Khas Mahals	not existing	1,090 0	Abolished.		
Petty Settlement	not known	1,002 0			
Total	6,024 0	9,141 12	8,387 12	13,803 0	23,521 0

Assessment of Jhum rent and its rate in 1915.

A fresh assessment was made in 1915. The gross assessment was made at the rate of Rs.5 on each house or each family of jhumia; deductions for jhumias exempt by custom were made at an all-round rate of 10 per cent. Remissions previously granted to the chiefs for political reasons were made permanent, subject to good behaviour. The tax was divisible in the proportion of half to the chief, and a quarter each to the headman and to the Government. The amount payable to the Government was fixed for ten years, the chiefs and headmen being entitled to the profit or loss during the period. The whole of the tax due from "foreign" jhumias was allowed to the chiefs and headmen. The terms of the assessment were binding on the Government for the period of settlement only, and the Government retained the full right on the soil, conferring no such rights at all on chiefs, headmen or jhumias.

After Independence, according to the terms of the jhum settlement, the tax payable by each jhumia family per annum is Rs.6 which is distributed as follows: Rate of Jhum rent after independence.

- Rupees 2.50 for the Chief,
- Rupees 2.25 for the Headman, and
- Rupees 1.25 for the Government.

Since jhum cultivation encourages a nomadic mode of life, special efforts were made to introduce plough cultivation in the district to localise the tribesmen and to improve the method of agriculture. In 1868, only one plough lease was in existence, and in 1966-69, the total plough land revenue amounted to Rs.191. By 1872-73, this had increased to Rs.7,909 mainly due, however, to the assessment of land cultivated by plainsmen, on the borders of the regulation district. By 1872 only 13 leases to hillmen covering 99 cultivators had been granted and only 120 acres had been cultivated. Rent for land under plough cultivation.

The number of holdings under plough cultivation increased in the quinquennium beginning in 1901 from 1,231 to 3,272, the area from 6,991 to 11,452 acres, and the rental from Rs.3,277 to Rs.10,256. This gave an average rent of less than one rupee per acre, which was an exceedingly low assessment and capable of material enhancement in future years. The rate of rent then charged was purposely kept low, so as to offer every encouragement to the people to take up plough cultivation.

The assessment of rent up to 1920 was unsystematic, since no strict principle was followed in this respect. For instance, the same quality of land was assessed at Rs. 2. to Rs.2 and annas 8 in one area and Rs.4 in another area of the district.

During twenties of the present century the actual rents paid for first class land by the tenants of the Government varied from Re.1 and annas 12 to Rs.4 and annas 8 an acre. The standard rate was Rs.3, but the Deputy Commissioner had a free hand to raise the standard rate, provided he did not increase a man's rent twice in ten years.

One highly anomalous grant existed at this time where the tenants paid Rs.10 an acre. This existed in cases where the tenants were made illegal sub-tenants by a *Kabuli* on some false plea. This was, however, not permitted and in case of detection, the *Kabuli* lost the land for subletting without permission. Sub-tenants used to pay anything from 50 per cent. over the Government tenants rent up to Rs.8 per acre. Paddy rents were not allowed under the then new rule, and all paddy

rents were commuted to cash. There could be no enhancement of the rent of a sub-tenant without the Deputy Commissioner's approval, who was guided by principles of equity. Ordinarily no rents would be fixed at 50 per cent. above the rent paid by the superior tenant. Sub-tenants of inferior grades were very few in number, where they existed they used to pay up to Rs.12 per acre.

Legislation of 1950.

The system of rent and revenue collection of the district has not been affected by the legislation of 1950. Having probably remained outside the sway of the Moghul Administration and, therefore, having never undergone its transformation along Zamindari lines, they necessarily remained unaffected also by the abolition of the Zamindaries. The district still has its old system of rent and revenue collection as introduced by the British.

Land tenure at present.

All lands in the district are Government *Khas* lands. Lands are given on settlement to the individual tenants who are permanent residents of the district with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. A tenant directly under Government factually has permanent and heritable rights in the land for which he pays rent unless there is a definite contract that his right is not permanent or heritable, subject to the provisions contained in the rules of Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual for his lease.

Present rate of rent for different classes of land under plough cultivation.

For the assessment of land revenue under plough cultivation, land is classified into first, second and third class. The rates of rent are different for the different classes of land. The current rates of rent for different types of land in the district are as follows:

Class of land.			Rates of rent per acre per annum.
			Rs.
1. Hashila-Chashila	1st Class	...	3.00
2. Mashila	...	2nd Class	2.00
3. Grove land (hilly land for gardening).	2nd Class	...	2.00
4. Hilly land	...	3rd Class	1.00

Rate of rent for land in the Bazar Fund Area.

The rates of rent within the Bazar Fund Area in Chittagong Hill Tracts are as given below:

- (a) Commercial and industrial purpose. Rs.15.00 per s.ft. For the land of Class I bazars. per year.
- (b) Residential purpose (at Rangamati, Rs.8.00 per s.ft. Ramgarh and Bandarban Bazar per year. Fund Area).

2. Commercial purpose. For the land Rs.10·00 per s.ft.
of 2nd Class bazars. per year.
3. Commercial purpose. For the land Rs.8·00 per s.ft.
of 3rd class bazars. per year.
4. Gardening purpose (for the lands Rs.0·50 per acre per
neither fit for commercial nor residen- year.
tial purpose).

Apart from rents mentioned above, there are other types of rent in the district. They are grasskhola rent, fishery rent, grazing tax and ferry rent. The table below shows the receipt of revenues from these sources during the years 1964-65 and 1965-66.

Other types of rent.

Name of revenue.	Receipt.	
	1964-65.	1965-66.
	Rs.	Rs.
1. Grasskhola Rent	25,525·75	16,998·00
2. Fishery Rent	3,876·00	2,835·00
3. Grazing tax	12,316·89	9,800·81
4. Ferry Rent	19,984·00	26,051·95

Prices of agricultural commodities and other necessities in the district present a steady upward trend since the earliest period for which statistics are available. In the year 1872, the price of best variety rice was 13 seers 11 chattak to the rupee; that of common variety rice 16 seers to the rupee. In the same year, the average price of salt was 6 seer 14 chattak to the rupee and in 1878 it was 6 seers 23 chattak to the rupee. While 329 seers of firewood sold at the rupee in 1873, 220 seers only of the same sold per rupee in 1876. But in 1878, 320 seers of firewood were again available per rupee. In 1878, the price of best variety rice was 9 seers to the rupee; that of common variety rice was about 10 seers to the rupee.

Prices:
Prices during
later part of the
19th century.

Writing in the last Gazetteer of the district in the early part of the 20th century, Mr. Hutchinson remarked that there had been a rise of at least 25 per cent. in prices during the last twenty years. He said that in former years 4 *aris* of paddy were obtainable for a rupee but during his time under favourable conditions only three *aris* could be obtained, and in bad year only one *ari* could be purchased for a rupee. The only commodity that was cheaper during that time was salt; with the lowering of the tax, salt was then obtainable at Rs.2 and annas 8 per maund, the former price being rupees five.

Price in the
early 20th
century.

Prices in 1920. In 1920, the retail price of the average quality rice was 6 seers, inferior quality rice 6 seers 8 chattak, kalai 4 seers, arhar 3 seers and salt 9 seers each per rupee. In 1930, the retail price of average quality rice was 8 seers; inferior quality rice was 8 seers 8 chattak, salt (karachi) 5 seers 8 chattak and salt (Liverpool) 12 seers each per rupee. In 1934-35, paddy of 100 *aris* was sold at Rs.25 to Rs.30.

Prices in 1950. In 1950, the wholesale price of the best quality paddy was Rs.6 and annas 8 for a maund of forty seers; common quality paddy was sold at Rs.5 and annas 8 per maund; best quality rice was sold at Rs.11 per maund; common quality rice at Rs.9 per maund; Gur at Rs.2 per maund; mustard oil at Rs.135 per maund; tobacco leaves at Rs.80 per maund.

Prices in 1965-66.

The average prices of the important articles during the year 1965-66 were as follows:

Commodities.				Price per maund.
				Rs.
1.	Paddy (aman)	...	...	20.00
2.	Paddy (aus)	...	...	18.00
3.	Rice (fine) ...	...	...	37.00
4.	Rice (coarse)	...	...	33.00
5.	Cotton (with seed)	...	...	50.00
6.	Cotton (without seed) ...	...	...	100.00
7.	Mustard seed	...	...	55.00
8.	Sesamum (til)	...	...	50.00

Wages.

The conditions regulating the supply of labour and the rate of wages in the district are peculiar and exceptional. The ordinary hill people have a limited number of wants and no luxuries, except spirituous liquor; and except in a very bad year they obtain from the jhum and plough lands enough for their support. They have also a great distaste for drudgery. Forced by circumstances only a few undertake the work of a day labourer.

From the following account of Mr. Hunter, we have an idea of the supply of labour and the rate of wages during the 19th century:

Wages during the 19th century.

"Formerly, when a hillman required money to celebrate a wedding, a birth, or some other event, he was forced to borrow from some Bengali money-lender at an exorbitant rate of interest. Strict registration rules,

and a limitation to the amount of interest that could be lawfully exacted from the hillmen, have however, thrown obstacles in the way of money-lending transactions; and Government therefore sanctioned, as a substitute, advances being made to the hillmen without interest, the amount of these advances not to exceed the money to be expended on local works during the next season. These advances are repaid by labour, and under this system the price of the labour of the hillmen during November, December and January, may be stated at $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day. During the cultivation season, local labour is not obtainable even at the rate of 2 s. a day, and coolies from the Chittagong district have to be engaged their average daily wages are $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. each. Among the Bengalis in the Cox's Bazar Subdivision of the Hill Tracts, labour can be obtained at the rate of 10 s. per month. There are no skilled labourers among the hill people".

According to the last Gazetteer of the district in the early part of the twentieth century, the ordinary coolies would get his food and seven to ten rupees a month. All labour for government work had to be imported and the average of wages was ten rupees a month. It was quite impossible to obtain skilled labour among the hill people as it did not exist, and foreigners were imported on very high wages. Carpenters, masons, sawyers, blacksmiths and others from outside the district would receive one rupee a day and even more. The wage paid by the government for enforced labour was five annas a day and with the exception of those who lived solely by plough cultivation, every man was liable to be called on to do fifteen days' work in the year at the above rate of remuneration. As a matter of fact, the demand then was seldom made excepting when officers required coolies on tour.

Wages during
the early part of
the 20th century.

The hillmen in general are not inclined to do the work of labourers unless they are pressed very hard to earn their subsistence. They are not yet fit psychologically or technically to fill up the ranks of the industrial labour now mobilised in the district. Workers presently employed in the different projects of the district are mostly imported from outside the district. It is interesting to note that at one stage of its normal operation the Karnaphuli Paper Mill employed only 14 hillmen out of the labour force of 3,290 persons. The picture is almost the same in all the projects in the district.

Wages after
Independence.

While in the early fifties the wages of agricultural labourers were Re.1 and annas 8 with meals and Rs.2 without meals, they were Rs.2.50 to Rs.3.00 without food during the year 1965-66. In the Reserved Forest Areas some hill people work seasonally at the time of new plantation and weeding for which they earn Rs.3.00 per day.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNICATION

Till 1872 the roads were mere footpaths, and even though they were subsequently widened, there was so little traffic over them that the jungle had again sprung up and left only such clear space as to enable persons to walk along in single file. The following were the most important footpaths:

- (1) A footpath from Rangamati towards Chittagong. It formed part of the Dak road; length, 21 miles.
- (2) A footpath from Demagiri to Sirthai Tang, used by the police; length, 6 miles.
- (3) A footpath from Demagiri to Kasalong, open only during the dry season and previously used by the Kukis; length, 25 miles.
- (4) A footpath from Rangamati to Ruma; the headquarters of the then Sangu Subdivision, *via* Bandarban; length, 104 miles.
- (5) A footpath from Manikchari to Kanchanpur in the Chittagong district; length, 8 miles.
- (6) A footpath from Manikchari to Ramgarh on the bank of the river Feni; length, 20 miles.

Old-time roads.

Until the year 1900 the district only possessed one road, a military first class bridle track known as the Chittagong-Demagiri-Lungleh-Haka Road. This road entered the Hill Tracts from the west, went along as far as Rangamati and proceeded due east; after crossing the Karnafuli river it took a north-easterly direction and crossing the Thega river entered the Lushai Hills (now in India) and reached Demagiri. It continued up to Lushai Hills in Burma. The portion of the road between Chittagong and Rangamati was of importance as it was the overland mail route. Beyond Rangamati the mails and stores were carried by boat as far as Demagiri. The road was rapidly constructed to meet the land transport requirements of the Lushai expedition of 1889-92 but little attention was shown to proper alignment and grading.

The Chittagong-Demagiri Road started from Chittagong and was available for wheel traffic, a distance of 23 miles, thence it became a first class bridle track bridged as far as Rangamati, a further distance of 23 miles, and was rideable throughout the year. There were furnished rest-houses at Hathazari and Raozan at the 12th and 20th mile respectively. The road passed through a tea garden called Thandacheri, entered the hills and reached Rangamati at the 46th mile. A section of this road, 41 miles long, was from Rangamati to the Thega river, the boundary of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

and four miles from Demagiri; the stages were Rangamati-Subalong, 11 miles, with rest-house and bazar; Subalong-Barkal, 9 miles, with rest-house and bazar. At Demagiri there is a rest-house and bazar. This section of the road was rideable only in the cold season, when the rivers *Kainda*, Subalong and Thega were easily fordable.

The Rangamati-Mahalchari Road was opened in the early 20th century and was passable throughout the year. It was an exceedingly important road, tapping as it did the rich valley of the Chengri river. There was an unfurnished bungalow at Bureeghat and a furnished inspection bungalow at Mahalchari. This road was well graded, the stages are Bangaldhaliya and Kerowpara, each ten miles; there were unfurnished rest-houses at each place while Chandraghona and Bandarban possessed furnished inspection bungalows. A dak road connected Bandarban with Poanghat in Chittagong.

Recent road improvements.

During the second plan period (1960-65) apart from the Chittagong-Rangamati Road and the Rangamati Town Road which were paved; four roads, namely, Guimara Khagrachari road, Panchari-Longong Road, Dighinala-Marishya Road and Swalac-Bandarban Road were improved by earth-work at a cost of about one crore of rupees.

In recent years the 48 mile Chittagong-Rangamati Road has been improved. The road connecting Kaptai with Chittagong (40 miles) is one of the finest in the province. The major part of the road has been built by the EPWAPDA who, however, levies tolls on vehicles on this route.

Present road position.

On the whole, however, communication in the district is extremely difficult and inadequate. There is no direct road connection between the district headquarters and the sub-divisional headquarters of Ramgarh and Bandarban. It takes more than a day to go to Ramgarh or Bandarban from Rangamati as one has to travel partly on foot and partly by river route. In the dry season one may go by jeep from Rangamati to Bandarban, but it would be a most uncomfortable journey.

Ramgarh, however, is connected by an all-weather motorable road (22 miles) from Dhoom in Chittagong district and Bandarban can be approached by road (16 miles) from Dohazari in Chittagong district. A jeep-worthy road (30 miles) also exists between Kaptai and Bandarban.

The following statement about metalled and unmetalled roads shows the road position in the district in 1964-65.

Name of Road.	Total mileage in the district.	Metalled.	Unmetalled.
Existing Roads:			
1. Mahalchari-Ramgarh Road ..	35	..	35
2. Khagrachari-Dighinala Road ..	16	..	16
3. Guimara-Manikchari-Butichar Road.	15	..	15
4. Nariarchar-Longadu Road ..	13	..	13
5. Dalupara-Raichar Road ..	8	..	8
6. Dighinala-Boalkhali Road ..	1.5	..	1.5
7. Rangamati Station Road ..	1.5	..	1.5
8. Barkal Station Road ..	0.5	..	0.5
Roads under construction :			
9. Rangamati-Chittagong Road	14.25	11.75	2.5
10. Ramgarh-Dhoom Road ..	1	1	..
11. Keranirhat-Swalac-Bandarban-Chimbuk Road.	33	..	33
Roads under Rehabilitation Scheme :			
12. Rangamati Town Road ..	6	..	6
13. Guimara-Khagrachari Road ..	20	..	20
14. Panchari-Logong Road ..	6	..	6
15. Dighinala-Marisha Road ..	20	..	20
Deferred Roads:			
16. Mahalchari-Khagrachari Road	14	..	14
17. Khagrachari-Panchari Road ..	16	..	16
18. Ghegra-Bandarban (via Chandraghona Road).	41	..	41

Bus services operate on the following routes:

Bus service.

- (1) Rangamati-Chittagong.
- (2) Kaptai-Chittagong.
- (3) Ramgarh-Dhoom.
- (4) Ramgarh-Feni.
- (5) Bandarban-Dohazari.

Vehicles.

A list of different types of motorised vehicles existing in the district by the 31st December, 1967 is given below :

Type of vehicle.			Total number.
1. Bus—			
(i) Petrol	...	...	22
(ii) Diesel	...	...	9
Total ...			31
2. Trucks—			
(i) Petrol	...	...	172
(ii) Diesel	...	...	16
Total ...			188
3. Auto-rickshaw	...	...	9
4. Private Motor Car	...	...	27
5. Jeep	...	...	101
6. Motor Cycle	...	...	63

(Source: Statistical Digest of East Pakistan No. 5, 1968).

Elephants as conveyances.

Elephants are used in the hill tracts for transportation and heavy work. All of them are owned by government or autonomous bodies under government. They transport public officials and goods wherever jeeps have no access. The Forest Industries Development Corporation use them extensively for movement of timber. An elephant costs Rs.4,000 to Rs.5,000 to maintain and no ordinary person can afford to have one.

**Rest House
Dakbungalow,
etc.**

A statement about Rest houses, Guest houses, Dakbungalows, etc., together with their location, accommodation and the name of the controlling departments is given below:

Type and Location.	Accommodation.	Controlling Department.
1. Ghagra Inspection Bungalow ..	Two rooms ..	Roads and Highways Directorate.
2. Sealbukka Halting Shed ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
3. Chandraghona Rest House ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
4. Bangalhalia Halting Shed ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
5. Crowpara Halting Shed ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
6. Bandarban Inspection Bungalow ..	Do. ..	Ditto.

valuable security. The *mahajan* accordingly attempted to secure his position; for example, in Kukurticheri a man had taken a loan of one maund of rice valued at Rs.4 and 4 annas repayment was demanded in three maunds of cotton valued at Rs.36 from that year's crop; in Andharmanik a loan of two bags of rice valued at Rs.8 and 8 annas was given on condition that Rs.20 was repaid out of the proceeds of the growing crop. These transactions were treated not so much as loans as sales on credit. Where the borrower was a plough cultivator and accordingly more stable, he was able to obtain rather better terms, e.g., repayment of bamboos, cane, or timber, but in all cases much to the advantage of the *mahajan*. One was struck by the incontrovertible fact that the hillman was unable to strike a fair bargain with the *mahajan*. The debt, once incurred, was never cleared; enforcement of payment was seldom necessary; but the debtor remained in a permanent entanglement of debt.

Mr. Ascoli remarked that it was never necessary for the hillmen to fall into debt; but it was an undoubted fact that debts would continue to accrue. Besides loan from individual *mahajans*, as the Report of Mr. Ascoli reveals, the hillmen used to get agricultural loans from the Government for relief of distress. The table below summarizes the outstanding agricultural loans advanced by the Government to the hillmen from 1911 to 1918. (Source—Report of Mr. Ascoli).

Year of issue of loan.			Amount issued.			Principal realised.			Interest realised.			Over due principal.		
			Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P
1911-12	..	..	107,841	0	0	47,747	5	0	2,138	8	8	60,093	11	0
1912-13	..	..	1,14,841	0	0	23,843	14	3	933	15	9	90,997	1	9
1916-17	..	..	23,427	0	0	9,414	8	2	512	12	8	14,012	7	10
1917-18	..	..	8,368	0	0	229	0	0	2	6	3	8,139	0	0
Total			2,54,477	0	0	81,234	11	5	3,587	11	4	1,73,242	4	7

All these loans were issued on account of agricultural distress, the first three loans to jhumias, the last to plough cultivators. The first loan was granted (on account of damage to jhuma) in 1911, the second in 1912, the third in 1916 and

the fourth on account of floods in 1917. In the six years previous to 1911, loans were issued on three occasions, in 1905-1906 on account of distress, in 1906-1907 and 1907-1908 mainly for the purchase of plough cattle. Loans issued in cash for these three years amounted to Rs.39,490. A further sum of Rs.80,000 was advanced as agricultural loans in 1906 on account of distress. This loan was distributed in kind.

**Indebtedness in
1960.**

The Pakistan Census of Agriculture (Vol. I) in 1960 revealed the extent of rural indebtedness in the district. Out of the total of 42,400 farms, 14,050 farms, or 33 per cent. of the total number of farms was reported in debt. The table overleaf will indicate the position of debt of the hillmen.

Farms reporting debt, classified by size of debt and size of farm:—

Farms Reporting Debt.

Size of Farm (Acres).	All farms.	Total.	Per cent. of all farms.	Rs. 1-99	Rs. 100-249	Rs. 250-499	Rs. 500-999	Rs. 1,000-1,999	Rs. 2,000 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Under 0.5	..	1,320	11	100	20	10	..	..	10
0.5 to under 1.0	..	3,240	23	680	50	10	..	..	..
1.0 to under 2.5	..	14,470	32	3,390	950	240	50	..	..
2.5 to under 5.0	..	12,560	36	2,710	1,370	320	90	..	..
5.0 to under 7.5	..	5,500	38	910	800	260	90	..	10
7.5 to under 12.5	..	3,610	39	450	540	310	70	20	..
12.5 to under 25.0	..	1,500	35	60	210	160	80	20	..
25.0 to under 40.0	..	180	33	10	10	20	10	10	..
40.0 and over	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
District Total	..	42,400	33	8,310	3,950	1,330	390	50	20

**Institutional
Credit;
Co-operative
Societies.**

Co-operative Societies form an important source of institutional credit in the district at present. Co-operative movement in this district dates back from the year 1937. Only two societies were organised and registered before the Independence, viz., (1) The Sale and Supply Society, Ltd. and (2) the Rangamati Government Employees Co-operative Society. Since Independence the Co-operative movement has extended throughout the district.

Up to the middle of 1966, there were in all 93 Societies (including one Central Co-operative Bank, one Central Society and one Co-operative Union) in the district. The total working capital of these societies was Rs.18,56,019·00.

There is only one Co-operative Central Bank in this district, which was organised in the year 1960-61 to channelise all kinds of loan to the primary societies. The Co-operative Central Bank received and issued the following loans during the Second Five-year Plan and the year 1965-66.

Year.	Loans received.	Development loans issued.			Total Loans issued.
		Production Loan.	Marketing Loan.	Servicing Loan.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1960-61	2,00,000·00	90,000·00	30,000·00	15,000·00	1,35,000·00
1961-62	2,00,000·00	90,000·00	30,000·00	15,000·00	1,35,000·00
1962-63	98,000·00	30,000·00	10,000·00	5,000·00	45,000·00
1963-64	2,000·00	1,50,000·00	50,000·00	25,000·00	2,25,000·00
1964-65	..	45,000·00	15,000·00	7,500·00	67,500·00
1965-66	2,00,000·00	15,000·00	500·00	2,500·00	22,500·00
Total	7,00,000·00	4,20,000·00	1,40,000·00	70,000·00	6,30,000·00

Primary Societies distributed the production loan to the members. The marketing loan and servicing loan were utilised for marketing of agricultural produces and supply of the daily necessities of life and farm requisites. Each society has been provided with a marketing godown. Twelve societies received Rs.5,40,000 at the rate of Rs.45,000 each and 4 societies received Rs.90,000 at the rate of Rs.22,500 each.

Another significant source of institutional credit for agricultural purpose in the district is the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan. A pay office of the bank was established at Rangamati in the year 1961. In March, 1964 this pay office was upgraded into a branch. The second branch of the bank was opened at Bandarban in April, 1969.

Agricultural
Development
Bank of
Pakistan.

These branches of the bank advance loans to individuals engaged in agriculture or in the development of agriculture or agricultural products or in cottage industry or in storage, warehousing, marketing or processing of agricultural produce and any registered public or private limited company or co-operatives that satisfy the bank that the loan to be taken shall be spent on agriculture. The term "agriculture" includes horticulture, forestry, fishery, animal husbandry, poultry farm, dairy farm, bee keeping and sericulture. The rate of interest charged by the bank on loans at present is 7 per cent. per annum.

Loans advanced by the bank are of three types: short-term loan repayable within 18 months, medium-term loan repayable within 5 years on annual instalment basis and long-term loan for period exceeding 5 years.

Since its inception in the district the bank advanced, up to August, 1969, a total loan of Rs.38,29,000. Whereas in 1964-65, the branch at Rangamati advanced a loan of Rs.3,85,000, the amount advanced increased to Rs.8,55,000 in 1967-68. In 1968-69, the amount advanced was Rs.6,65,000. For mechanisation of agriculture the bank has so far distributed 20 power tillers and 44 power pumps to the farmers of the district.

The Government also provide loans to the hillmen for agricultural purposes. An amount of Rs.27,58,048.15 was outstanding at the beginning of the year 1965-66 as various agricultural loans. A sum of Rs.2,00,000 was sanctioned and advanced during the year 1965-66 as agricultural productive and seed and fertilizer loans. For relief of distress caused by flood and cyclone, advances are also made to them; an amount of Rs.3,88,349.82 was outstanding on 1st July 1965. During the year 1965-66 a sum of Rs.1,00,000 was sanctioned and advanced as flood loan.

Government
Loans.

Up to 1860, the only method of cultivation in the district was that of jhum; plough cultivation was unknown. People who cultivated by jhum in the hills used to pay jhum rent. The jhum rent, in reality, was a house-tax, varying individually in amount, but levied only on the head of each household or family who cultivated by jhum in the hills.

Early Jhum rent.

Jhum rent during the later part of the 19th century.

The Government of Bengal in January 1870, ordered that the Kapas or Jhum tax was to be collected only from those who adopted jhum cultivation and the sum of Rs.4 was fixed as the amount of jhum tax payable by each family. There were inequalities in the amount of jhum tax paid in the three circles (Chakma circle, Bohmong circle, Mong circle), but this rested on tribal custom and no attempt was made to equalise the tax or prescribe a uniform rate of payment throughout the district, but the courts then recognised the sum of Rs.4 as a legal tender in full as payment for one year's jhum tax on one family. This tax was a tribute payable to the State; it in no way partook of the nature of rent, or bore any relation to the land cultivated. In 1874, the Government of Bengal decided the jhum tax of Rs.4 a family should be taken as the basis of assessment. Of this amount, one rupee was to be assigned to the village headman for the trouble of collection, and two rupees to the circle chief, the remaining one rupee to be paid by the chief as Government revenue.

Mr. F.D. Ascoli in the "Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" gives the following table for jhum tax collection for different years up to 1915.

Area.	1860.	1880.	1895.	1905.	1915.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
Chakma Circle	2,085 0	1,097 0	3,155 12	4,553 0	9,569 8
Mong Circle	1,021 0	3,034 12	2,314 0	3,478 0	4,264 8
Bohmong Circle	2,918 0	2,918 0	2,918 0	5,772 0	10,687 0
Khas Mahals	not existing	1,090 0	Abolished.		
Petty Settlement	not known	1,002 0			
Total	6,024 0	9,141 12	8,387 12	13,803 0	23,521 0

Assessment of Jhum rent and its rate in 1915.

A fresh assessment was made in 1915. The gross assessment was made at the rate of Rs.5 on each house or each family of jhumia; deductions for jhumias exempt by custom were made at an all-round rate of 10 per cent. Remissions previously granted to the chiefs for political reasons were made permanent, subject to good behaviour. The tax was divisible in the proportion of half to the chief, and a quarter each to the headman and to the Government. The amount payable to the Government was fixed for ten years, the chiefs and headmen being entitled to the profit or loss during the period. The whole of the tax due from "foreign" jhumias was allowed to the chiefs and headmen. The terms of the assessment were binding on the Government for the period of settlement only, and the Government retained the full right on the soil, conferring no such rights at all on chiefs, headmen or jhumias.

After Independence, according to the terms of the jhum settlement, the tax payable by each jhumia family per annum is Rs.6 which is distributed as follows:

- Rupees 2.50 for the Chief,
- Rupees 2.25 for the Headman, and
- Rupees 1.25 for the Government.

Since jhum cultivation encourages a nomadic mode of life, special efforts were made to introduce plough cultivation in the district to localise the tribesmen and to improve the method of agriculture. In 1868, only one plough lease was in existence, and in 1966-69, the total plough land revenue amounted to Rs.191. By 1872-73, this had increased to Rs.7,909 mainly due, however, to the assessment of land cultivated by plainsmen, on the borders of the regulation district. By 1872 only 13 leases to hillmen covering 99 cultivators had been granted and only 120 acres had been cultivated.

The number of holdings under plough cultivation increased in the quinquennium beginning in 1901 from 1,231 to 3,272, the area from 6,991 to 11,452 acres, and the rental from Rs.3,277 to Rs.10,256. This gave an average rent of less than one rupee per acre, which was an exceedingly low assessment and capable of material enhancement in future years. The rate of rent then charged was purposely kept low, so as to offer every encouragement to the people to take up plough cultivation.

The assessment of rent up to 1920 was unsystematic, since no strict principle was followed in this respect. For instance, the same quality of land was assessed at Rs. 2. to Rs.2 and annas 8 in one area and Rs.4 in another area of the district.

During twenties of the present century the actual rents paid for first class land by the tenants of the Government varied from Re.1 and annas 12 to Rs.4 and annas 8 an acre. The standard rate was Rs.3, but the Deputy Commissioner had a free hand to raise the standard rate, provided he did not increase a man's rent twice in ten years.

One highly anomalous grant existed at this time where the tenants paid Rs.10 an acre. This existed in cases where the tenants were made illegal sub-tenants by a *Kabuli* on some false plea. This was, however, not permitted and in case of detection, the *Kabuli* lost the land for subletting without permission. Sub-tenants used to pay anything from 50 per cent. over the Government tenants rent up to Rs.8 per acre. Paddy rents were not allowed under the then new rule, and all paddy

Rate of Jhum
rent after
independence.

Rent for land
under plough
cultivation.

rents were commuted to cash. There could be no enhancement of the rent of a sub-tenant without the Deputy Commissioner's approval, who was guided by principles of equity. Ordinarily no rents would be fixed at 50 per cent. above the rent paid by the superior tenant. Sub-tenants of inferior grades were very few in number, where they existed they used to pay up to Rs.12 per acre.

Legislation of 1950.

The system of rent and revenue collection of the district has not been affected by the legislation of 1950. Having probably remained outside the sway of the Moghul Administration and, therefore, having never undergone its transformation along Zamindari lines, they necessarily remained unaffected also by the abolition of the Zamindaries. The district still has its old system of rent and revenue collection as introduced by the British.

Land tenure at present.

All lands in the district are Government *Khas* lands. Lands are given on settlement to the individual tenants who are permanent residents of the district with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. A tenant directly under Government factually has permanent and heritable rights in the land for which he pays rent unless there is a definite contract that his right is not permanent or heritable, subject to the provisions contained in the rules of Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual for his lease.

Present rate of rent for different classes of land under plough cultivation.

For the assessment of land revenue under plough cultivation, land is classified into first, second and third class. The rates of rent are different for the different classes of land. The current rates of rent for different types of land in the district are as follows:

Class of land.			Rates of rent per acre per annum.
			Rs.
1. Hashila-Chashila	1st Class	...	3.00
2. Mashila	...	2nd Class	2.00
3. Grove land (hilly land for gardening).	2nd Class	...	2.00
4. Hilly land	...	3rd Class	1.00

Rate of rent for land in the Bazar Fund Area.

The rates of rent within the Bazar Fund Area in Chittagong Hill Tracts are as given below:

1. (a) Commercial and industrial purpose. Rs.15.00 per s.ft. For the land of Class I bazars. per year.
- (b) Residential purpose (at Rangamati. Rs.8.00 per s.ft. Ramgarh and Bandarban Bazar per year. Fund Area).

2. Commercial purpose. For the land Rs.10·00 per s.ft.
of 2nd Class bazars. per year.
3. Commercial purpose. For the land Rs.8·00 per s.ft.
of 3rd class bazars. per year.
4. Gardening purpose (for the lands Rs.0·50 per acre per
neither fit for commercial nor residen- year.
tial purpose).

Apart from rents mentioned above, there are other types of rent in the district. They are grasskhola rent, fishery rent, grazing tax and ferry rent. The table below shows the receipt of revenues from these sources during the years 1964-65 and 1965-66.

Other types of rent.

Name of revenue.				Receipt.	
				1964-65.	1965-66.
				Rs.	Rs.
1. Grasskhola Rent	...	...		25,525·75	16,998·00
2. Fishery Rent	...	...		3,876·00	2,835·00
3. Grazing tax	...	...		12,316·89	9,800·81
4. Ferry Rent	...	...		19,984·00	26,051·95

Prices of agricultural commodities and other necessities in the district present a steady upward trend since the earliest period for which statistics are available. In the year 1872, the price of best variety rice was 13 seers 11 chattak to the rupee; that of common variety rice 16 seers to the rupee. In the same year, the average price of salt was 6 seer 14 chattak to the rupee and in 1878 it was 6 seers 23 chattak to the rupee. While 329 seers of firewood sold at the rupee in 1873, 220 seers only of the same sold per rupee in 1876. But in 1878, 320 seers of firewood were again available per rupee. In 1878, the price of best variety rice was 9 seers to the rupee; that of common variety rice was about 10 seers to the rupee.

Prices:
Prices during
later part of the
19th century.

Writing in the last Gazetteer of the district in the early part of the 20th century, Mr. Hutchinson remarked that there had been a rise of at least 25 per cent. in prices during the last twenty years. He said that in former years 4 *aris* of paddy were obtainable for a rupee but during his time under favourable conditions only three *aris* could be obtained, and in bad year only one *ari* could be purchased for a rupee. The only commodity that was cheaper during that time was salt; with the lowering of the tax, salt was then obtainable at Rs.2 and annas 8 per maund, the former price being rupees five.

Price in the
early 20th
century.

Prices in 1920. In 1920, the retail price of the average quality rice was 6 seers, inferior quality rice 6 seers 8 chattak, kalai 4 seers, arhar 3 seers and salt 9 seers each per rupee. In 1930, the retail price of average quality rice was 8 seers; inferior quality rice was 8 seers 8 chattak, salt (karachi) 5 seers 8 chattak and salt (Liverpool) 12 seers each per rupee. In 1934-35, paddy of 100 *aris* was sold at Rs.25 to Rs.30.

Prices in 1950. In 1950, the wholesale price of the best quality paddy was Rs.6 and annas 8 for a maund of forty seers; common quality paddy was sold at Rs.5 and annas 8 per maund; best quality rice was sold at Rs.11 per maund; common quality rice at Rs.9 per maund; Gur at Rs.2 per maund; mustard oil at Rs.135 per maund; tobacco leaves at Rs.80 per maund.

Prices in 1965-66. The average prices of the important articles during the year 1965-66 were as follows:

Commodities.				Price per maund.
				Rs.
1. Paddy (aman)	...	...	...	20.00
2. Paddy (aus)	...	...	...	18.00
3. Rice (fine) ...	...	...	...	37.00
4. Rice (coarse)	...	...	...	33.00
5. Cotton (with seed)	...	...	...	50.00
6. Cotton (without seed) ...	...	...	...	100.00
7. Mustard seed	...	...	...	55.00
8. Sesamum (til)	...	...	...	50.00

Wages.

The conditions regulating the supply of labour and the rate of wages in the district are peculiar and exceptional. The ordinary hill people have a limited number of wants and no luxuries, except spirituous liquor; and except in a very bad year they obtain from the jhum and plough lands enough for their support. They have also a great distaste for drudgery. Forced by circumstances only a few undertake the work of a day labourer.

From the following account of Mr. Hunter, we have an idea of the supply of labour and the rate of wages during the 19th century:

**Wages during
the 19th century.**

“Formerly, when a hillman required money to celebrate a wedding, a birth, or some other event, he was forced to borrow from some Bengali money-lender at an exorbitant rate of interest. Strict registration rules,

and a limitation to the amount of interest that could be lawfully exacted from the hillmen, have however, thrown obstacles in the way of money-lending transactions; and Government therefore sanctioned, as a substitute, advances being made to the hillmen without interest, the amount of these advances not to exceed the money to be expended on local works during the next season. These advances are repaid by labour, and under this system the price of the labour of the hillmen during November, December and January, may be stated at $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day. During the cultivation season, local labour is not obtainable even at the rate of 2 s. a day, and coolies from the Chittagong district have to be engaged their average daily wages are $6\frac{1}{2}$ d. each. Among the Bengalis in the Cox's Bazar Subdivision of the Hill Tracts, labour can be obtained at the rate of 10 s. per month. There are no skilled labourers among the hill people".

According to the last Gazetteer of the district in the early part of the twentieth century, the ordinary coolies would get his food and seven to ten rupees a month. All labour for government work had to be imported and the average of wages was ten rupees a month. It was quite impossible to obtain skilled labour among the hill people as it did not exist, and foreigners were imported on very high wages. Carpenters, masons, sawyers, blacksmiths and others from outside the district would receive one rupee a day and even more. The wage paid by the government for enforced labour was five annas a day and with the exception of those who lived solely by plough cultivation, every man was liable to be called on to do fifteen days' work in the year at the above rate of remuneration. As a matter of fact, the demand then was seldom made excepting when officers required coolies on tour.

Wages during
the early part of
the 20th century.

The hillmen in general are not inclined to do the work of labourers unless they are pressed very hard to earn their subsistence. They are not yet fit psychologically or technically to fill up the ranks of the industrial labour now mobilised in the district. Workers presently employed in the different projects of the district are mostly imported from outside the district. It is interesting to note that at one stage of its normal operation the Karnaphuli Paper Mill employed only 14 hillmen out of the labour force of 3,290 persons. The picture is almost the same in all the projects in the district.

Wages after
Independence.

While in the early fifties the wages of agricultural labourers were Re.1 and annas 8 with meals and Rs.2 without meals, they were Rs.2.50 to Rs.3.00 without food during the year 1965-66. In the Reserved Forest Areas some hill people work seasonally at the time of new plantation and weeding for which they earn Rs.3.00 per day.



A Young man of the Murang tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNICATION

Till 1872 the roads were mere footpaths, and even though they were subsequently widened, there was so little traffic over them that the jungle had again sprung up and left only such clear space as to enable persons to walk along in single file. The following were the most important footpaths: (1) A footpath from Rangamati towards Chittagong. It formed part of the Dak road; length, 21 miles. (2) A footpath from Demagiri to Sirthai Tang, used by the police; length, 6 miles. (3) A footpath from Demagiri to Kasalong, open only during the dry season and previously used by the Kukis; length, 25 miles. (4) A footpath from Rangamati to Ruma; the headquarters of the then Sangu Subdivision, *via* Bandarban; length, 104 miles. (5) A footpath from Manikchari to Kanchanpur in the Chittagong district length; 8 miles. (6) A footpath from Manikchari to Ramgarh on the bank of the river Feni; length, 20 miles.

Old-time roads.

Until the year 1900 the district only possessed one road, a military first class bridle track known as the Chittagong-Demagiri-Lungleh-Haka Road. This road entered the Hill Tracts from the west, went along as far as Rangamati and proceeded due east; after crossing the Karnafuli river it took a north-easterly direction and crossing the Thega river entered the Lushai Hills (now in India) and reached Demagiri. It continued up to Lushai Hills in Burma. The portion of the road between Chittagong and Rangamati was of importance as it was the overland mail route. Beyond Rangamati the mails and stores were carried by boat as far as Demagiri. The road was rapidly constructed to meet the land transport requirements of the Lushai expedition of 1889-92 but little attention was shown to proper alignment and grading.

The Chittagong-Demagiri Road started from Chittagong and was available for wheel traffic, a distance of 23 miles, thence it became a first class bridle track bridged as far as Rangamati, a further distance of 23 miles, and was rideable throughout the year. There were furnished rest-houses at Hathazari and Raozan at the 12th and 20th mile respectively. The road passed through a tea garden called Thandacheri, entered the hills and reached Rangamati at the 46th mile. A section of this road, 41 miles long, was from Rangamati to the Thega river, the boundary of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

and four miles from Demagiri; the stages were Rangamati-Subalong, 11 miles, with rest-house and bazar; Subalong-Barkal, 9 miles, with rest-house and bazar. At Demagiri there is a rest-house and bazar. This section of the road was rideable only in the cold season, when the rivers *Kainda*, Subalong and *Thega* were easily fordable.

The Rangamati-Mahalchari Road was opened in the early 20th century and was passable throughout the year. It was an exceedingly important road, tapping as it did the rich valley of the Chengri river. There was an unfurnished bungalow at Bureeghat and a furnished inspection bungalow at Mahalchari. This road was well graded, the stages are Bangaldhaliya and Kerowpara, each ten miles; there were unfurnished rest-houses at each place while Chandraghona and Bandarban possessed furnished inspection bungalows. A dak road connected Bandarban with Poanghat in Chittagong.

Recent road improvements.

During the second plan period (1960-65) apart from the Chittagong-Rangamati Road and the Rangamati Town Road which were paved; four roads, namely, Guimara Khagrachari road, Panchari-Longong Road, Dighinala-Marishya Road and Swalac-Bandarban Road were improved by earth-work at a cost of about one crore of rupees.

In recent years the 48 mile Chittagong-Rangamati Road has been improved. The road connecting Kaptai with Chittagong (40 miles) is one of the finest in the province. The major part of the road has been built by the EPWAPDA who, however, levies tolls on vehicles on this route.

Present road position.

On the whole, however, communication in the district is extremely difficult and inadequate. There is no direct road connection between the district headquarters and the sub-divisional headquarters of Ramgarh and Bandarban. It takes more than a day to go to Ramgarh or Bandarban from Rangamati as one has to travel partly on foot and partly by river route. In the dry season one may go by jeep from Rangamati to Bandarban, but it would be a most uncomfortable journey.

Ramgarh, however, is connected by an all-weather motorable road (22 miles) from Dhoom in Chittagong district and Bandarban can be approached by road (16 miles) from Dohazari in Chittagong district. A jeep-worthy road (30 miles) also exists between Kaptai and Bandarban.

The following statement about metalled and unmetalled roads shows the road position in the district in 1964-65.

Name of Road.	Total mileage in the district.	Metalled.	Unmetalled.
Existing Roads:			
1. Mahalchari-Ramgarh Road ..	35	..	35
2. Khagrachari-Dighinala Road ..	16	..	16
3. Guimara-Manikchari-Butichar Road.	15	..	15
4. Nariarchar-Longadu Road ..	13	..	13
5. Dalupara-Raichar Road ..	8	..	8
6. Dighinala-Boalkhali Road ..	1.5	..	1.5
7. Rangamati Station Road ..	1.5	..	1.5
8. Barkal Station Road ..	0.5	..	0.5
Roads under construction :			
9. Rangamati-Chittagong Road	14.25	11.75	2.5
10. Ramgarh-Dhoom Road ..	1	1	..
11. Keranirhat-Swalac-Bandarban-Chimbuk Road.	33	..	33
Roads under Rehabilitation Scheme :			
12. Rangamati Town Road ..	6	..	6
13. Guimara-Khagrachari Road ..	20	..	20
14. Panchari-Logong Road ..	6	..	6
15. Dighinala-Marisha Road ..	20	..	20
Deferred Roads:			
16. Mahalchari-Khagrachari Road	14	..	14
17. Khagrachari-Panchari Road ..	16	..	16
18. Ghegra-Bandarban (via Chandraghona Road).	41	..	41

Bus services operate on the following routes:

- (1) Rangamati-Chittagong.
- (2) Kaptai-Chittagong.
- (3) Ramgarh-Dhoom.
- (4) Ramgarh-Feni.
- (5) Bandarban-Dohazari.

Bus service.

Vehicles.

A list of different types of motorised vehicles existing in the district by the 31st December, 1967 is given below :

Type of vehicle.				Total number.
1. Bus—				
(i) Petrol	...	...	...	22
(ii) Diesel	...	...	...	9
Total ...				31
2. Trucks—				
(i) Petrol	...	...	...	172
(ii) Diesel	...	...	...	16
Total ...				188
3. Auto-rickshaw	...	...	...	9
4. Private Motor Car	...	...	...	27
5. Jeep	...	...	...	101
6. Motor Cycle	...	...	...	63

(Source: Statistical Digest of East Pakistan No. 5, 1968).

Elephants as conveyances.

Elephants are used in the hill tracts for transportation and heavy work. All of them are owned by government or autonomous bodies under government. They transport public officials and goods wherever jeeps have no access. The Forest Industries Development Corporation use them extensively for movement of timber. An elephant costs Rs.4,000 to Rs.5,000 to maintain and no ordinary person can afford to have one.

Rest House
Dakbungalow,
etc.

A statement about Rest houses, Guest houses, Dakbungalows, etc., together with their location, accommodation and the name of the controlling departments is given below:

Type and Location.	Accommodation.	Controlling Department.
1. Ghagra Inspection Bungalow ..	Two rooms ..	Roads and Highways Directorate.
2. Sealbukka Halting Shed ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
3. Chandraghona Rest House ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
4. Bangalhalia Halting Shed ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
5. Crowpara Halting Shed ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
6. Bandarban Inspection Bungalow	Do. ..	Ditto.

Type and Location.	Accommodation.	Controlling Department.
7. Chimbuk Inspection Hut	Two rooms.	Roads and Highways Directorate.
8. Bandarban Inspection Hut	Do.	Ditto.
9. Taimidang Halting Shed	Do.	Ditto.
10. Naniarchar Halting Shed	Do.	Ditto.
11. Mahalchari Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
12. Sindukchari Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
13. Patachara Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
14. Ramgarh Inspection Room	Do.	Ditto.
15. Khagrachari Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
16. Diginala Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
17. Subalong Inspection Bungalow	Do.	Ditto.
18. Barkal Inspection Bungalow	Do.	Ditto.
19. Panchari Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
20. Ruma Inspection Hut	Do.	Ditto.
21. Marishya Inspection Bungalow	Do.	Ditto.
22. Alutilla Inspection Bungalow	Do.	Ditto.
23. Rangamati Rest House	Four rooms	C. & B. Department.
24. Chandraghona Rest House	Two rooms	Forest Department, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
25. Kaptai Rest House	Three rooms	Ditto.
26. Alikhyong Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
27. Subalong Rest House	Two rooms	Ditto.
28. Tinkonia Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
29. Mainimukh Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
30. Pablakhali Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
31. Mahalya Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
32. Bagaihat Rest House	Three rooms	Ditto.
33. Guimara Rest House	Two rooms	Bazar Fund, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
34. Ajodhya Halting Shed	Do.	Ditto.
35. Dewan Bazar Halting Shed	Do.	Ditto.

Type and Location.	Accommodation.	Controlling Departments.
36. Alikadan Halting Shed	Two rooms.	Bazar Fund, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
37. Rangamati Rest House	Three rooms	EPWAPDA.
38. Bandarban Rest House	Four rooms	Ditto.
39. Kaptai V.I.P. Rest House (Air-conditioned).	Fourteen rooms	EPWAPDA (Karnafuli Project).
40. Kaptai Guest House (Air-conditioned).	Five rooms	Ditto.
41. Kaptai Dakbungalow	Do.	Ditto.
42. Kaptai Rest House and Inspection Bungalow.	Do.	Ditto.
43. Chandraghona Guest House	Do.	Karnafuli Paper Mills Ltd.
44. Bilaichari Rest House	Three rooms	Ditto.
45. Maskumba Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
46. Gangaram Rest House	Do.	Ditto.
47. Massalong Rest House	Two rooms	Ditto.
48. Subalong Rest House	Three rooms	Ditto.
49. Rangamati Circuit House (No. 1)	Three Bed rooms, one Dining room, two out rooms, one Hall room, Three Bath rooms, one small room attached to dining room.	Deputy Commissioner. Chittagong Hill Tracts.
50. Rangamati Circuit House (No. 2)	Four rooms (one air-conditioned).	Ditto.
51. Rangamati Rest House	Five rooms	Additional Dy. Commissioner.
52. Kaptai Residential Rest House	Three Rooms (air-conditioned).	Tourist Bureau.

The rivers are still a very important means of communication and transport in the district. During the winter months and dry season country boats with a capacity varying from one hundred to five hundred maunds, carry the imports to different markets in the interior; while large bamboo rafts float cotton, oil seed, paddy and sun-grass down to the plains. People who operate commercial boats regularly on the rivers have to pay an annual tax to the Bazar Chowdhury. Ferries at river crossing are auctioned. Waterways.

Country boats and dug-out canoes in the lake and in most of the streams carry both passengers and merchandise. Dug-out canoes are more common in the upper courses of streams where water is shallow and the canoes have to be pulled over the stream bed. Large bamboo and timber rafts float from the upstream down to Rangamati and Kaptai, where these are transhipped. The creation of the Karnafuli Reservoir has provided access to the Kasalong Reserve Forest as far as Marishya. Bamboo and timber can be rafted out of the Reserve throughout the year. The reservoir has, however, posed one difficulty. Formerly, river flow facilitated transportation; power boats are now required for the purpose.

The present system of transferring cargo across the Kaptai dam is inadequate to cope with the volume of traffic in logs, bamboo and agricultural products. Navigational market system in the reservoir requires improvement and adequate docking facilities should be established at Kaptai, Rangamati, Bilaichari, Barkal, Marishya, Mainimukh, and several other points on the reservoir.

The Sangu and the Matamuhari rivers and all the major tributaries of the Karnafuli, except the Kasalong river, are not navigable during the later part of the dry season. This makes the movement of forest and other agricultural products extremely difficult. Whatever dry weather roads are there, they are not passable during the monsoon.

Until 1900 a small Government launch used to ply between Rangamati and Chittagong for transport of officials once in a week. There was also regular launch services between these places via Kaptai. After the construction of the Kaptai Dam, the vast lake has brought about remarkable improvement in water communication within the area served by the lake. A number of areas until recently inaccessible are now easily approachable. The Kaptai lake has facilitated the opening up of launch services. Launch services.

A statement of the launch services now in operation in the district together with important launch stations on each of the routes is given below:

Name of route.	Important Launch stations.
1. Rangamati-Marishya (65 miles)	Subalong, Katali, Mainimukh, Dhochari.
2. Kaptai-Maischari (60 miles)	Rangamati, Bagchari, Buri ghat, Naniarchar, Mahalchari.
3. Rangamati-Chhotaharina (48 miles).	Subalong, Dewansar, Barkal, Basumbag.
4. Kaptai-Bilaichari (16 miles) ...	Rinkong, Dullyachari.

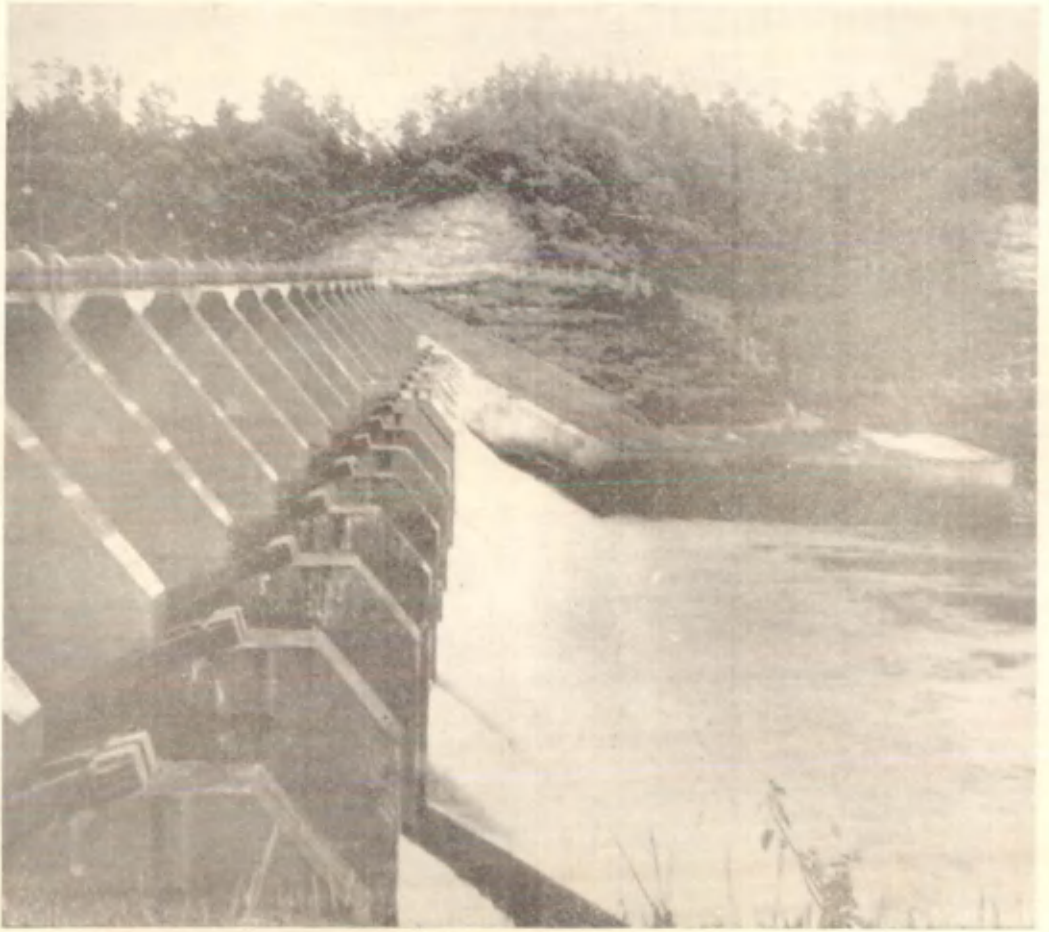
Telephones.

By 1967 there were 62 main telephone lines and 7 extension-lines in the district. The main exchange office is located at Rangamati.

Post office.

The following post offices are functioning in the district.

- (1) Ramgarh, (2) Manikchari, (3) Pay Gavy, (4) Bhaibamchhara, (5) Golabari, (6) Maischari, (7) Telipara, (8) Bagaichhari, (9) Boalhah, (10) Ruilai, (11) Rupkarichhara, (12) Khedirmara, (13) Maschhari, (14) Rangapari, (15) Wagga, (16) Nalbaria, (17) Langadu, (18) Bandarban, (19) Chagalkhaiya.



The Kaptai Project, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER VIII

INDUSTRIES, TRADE AND COMMERCE.

A. INDUSTRIES.

The district is inhabited mostly by various tribal people who practise arts that meet their needs of life. The hillmen build their own houses, make their own looms, weave their own clothes, make their baskets, manufacture their household utensils, agricultural implements, drink and so on. Weaving once used to be very widespread, and almost every household still has a loom. But manufacturing as an occupation is no longer so much significant as agriculture and horticulture.

Introduction.

Throughout the Hill Tracts the women spin their own cotton thread and weave it into cloth, of which are made their own wearing apparel, satchels, bed-sheets and covering clothes. The various tribes introduce different colours and patterns into their cloth, very little of which is plain. Weaving once formed as much an essential part of a girl's education as the art of cooking but subsequently import of manufactured clothes from outside reduced weaving at home.

Time-honoured manufactures.

The cotton is removed from the pod in the *jhum* and brought to the house and thoroughly cleaned. It is then spread out on mats and exposed for two or three days to the sun to dry. The dried cotton is then ginned to remove the seed from the fibre. The gin is similar to that used in the plains and is of the same pattern throughout the hills. It consists of two wooden rollers fixed horizontally, one slightly above the other, and mounted on an upright stand. The ginned cotton is then bowed. The bow is made from a piece of bamboo three feet long, to which is attached a fine string made from the fibre of a creeper called "dhonoo goos". The cotton is placed on mat, generally inside the house, the bow string is repeatedly pulled and let go with a resonant twang amongst the cotton, thus loosening the fibre. When the cotton has been sufficiently bowed it is placed on flat boards, and portions are rolled by hand on to little slips of bamboo, to be converted into thread by the spinning wheel. The end of one of these rolls of cotton is applied to the point of the spindle and the thread is removed from the cotton roll which is held in the left hand, the right being employed to turn the wheel. By a slight motion of the hand the thread is wound quite evenly round the spindle. This process is repeated until the spindle is full, when the ball of thread is slipped off.

Process in the manufacture of cloth.

Weaving.

For the process of weaving five pieces of bamboo are prepared and stuck in the ground. The thread is then wound around them, two threads at a time. These are alternately twisted around the end pieces. The amount of thread required for the cloth to be woven is calculated by 'hundred pairs' of threads, and on an average it will take four and a half pounds of thread to weave the piece of cloth a yard and a quarter wide and four and a half yards long which is worn as a petticoat. When a sufficient quantity of thread has been thus treated, the whole is taken up and fastened to a beam or post in the verandah, and weaving commences. The woman seats herself before the cloth beam, pressing one treadle with the foot. She raises one shaft of healds and lowers the other, making a space between the upper and lower threads of the warp and throwing the intersection on the cloth beam. The shuttle is passed through the gap from left to right, the loose end of the thread being held on the left of the warp. The thread is now between the upper and lower threads of the warp and in front of the intersection the reed being pulled towards the weaver the thread is pushed home. The other treadle is now pressed and a fresh gap made between the treads which have become reversed, and two fresh intersections have been formed, with the threads kept at tension by the healds. That thread is passed through and driven home with the reed, the shuttle this time passing from right to left. The intersection at the end where the weaver sits is thus woven in. Another pressure of the first treadle reverses the treads and brings the remaining intersection from the far end and throws it against the west thread just shot which brings the threads to the same position as they were at the commencement. This operation is repeated over and over again till the required length is obtained.

Dyeing :

Blue or black
dye.

The tribes dye their own yarn mostly with indigenous mixtures. For the manufacture of blue or black dye kalma or indigo leaves are placed in an earthen vessel; this is filled with water and left to soak for two days, whereafter the leaves are removed and the water is squeezed out. This water is strained and mixed with lime and kept till it settles. The water is then drained off and put into a separate vessel, and stirred with a stick until it becomes frothy; when the froth does not stick to anything dropped in, the process is complete. It is now allowed to settle down for an hour or so, the water is carefully drained off and the colour sediment remains at the bottom of the pot. This sediment is strained through a fine cloth and then dried in the sun in the shape of small cakes. The ash of burnt bamboo or fig tree is mixed with the water and strained, this again is mixed with the colour cake and exposed for ten or

fifteen days to the sun. The cotton yarn is steeped in it for half an hour, then taken out and dried in the sun. This process is repeated four or five times before the requisite shade of blue is obtained. To get a black dye the bark of the "Kala Gab" tree has to be boiled and the blue yarn soaked in the decoction for two hours, when it is taken out and dried in the sun. This process is repeated till the desired shade is obtained.

Red dye is obtained from the root of a tree called by the hillmen *Rang Gachh* (Colour Tree). The root is cut up into small pieces and hammered into a consistency of pulp. It is then mixed with water to which the ash of the tamarind or 'Pole' tree has been added. This water must be carefully strained so that no particle of the ash may remain in it. The yarn is then steeped in the mixture for a whole night. In the morning it is removed and dried slowly in the shade. Two or three soaking are required to secure a brilliant tint of red, and there must be no hurry throughout the process. Before the yarn is dipped for the last time it is smeared with a vegetable oil which has the effect of making the colour fast. Red dye.

Yellow and green dyes are also prepared, the former by mixing turmeric and the bark of the mango tree. A combination of indigo and turmeric makes an excellent green, and the preparation in each case is the same as for the blue dye. A solution of stringent leaves is used as a mordant for fixing the dye. Cotton yarn is steeped in the mixture of selected dyes, then hung up in the sun to dry. A series of dippings will give the required shade, and so fast are these colours that no amount of use or washing will affect them. Yellow and green dyes.

The hill tribes indulge freely in liquor. Their drink consists of a rice-beer and a spirit distilled from rice. The rice beer, before fermentation sets in, is said to be a good thirst-quenching drink. Honey is sometimes added to the beer, which then much resemble mead. The spirit is very pure and potent, and is akin to potheen. The beer is also manufactured from millet and maize, but the liquor brewed from these is very inferior to the rice beer. The grain is first boiled, then pounded roughly and mixed with a small quantity of yeast. It is then placed in a jar and covered with leaves, preferably of the sugarcane. The mouth of the jar is sealed up, and put away for a week or more to ferment, then the jar is filled with water and it is ready for use. Where rice is plentiful, the liquor is served in drinking cups made from gayal horns or bamboo. Among neighbouring tribes and throughout the Chin Hills a reed is pushed to the bottom of the big vessel containing Drink.

the liquor. On the reed is a small flat piece of bamboo about an inch in length. This is pushed into the liquor, and when the person has sucked sufficient through the reed to leave the piece of bamboo exposed, he has had his share. He pours fresh water into the jar and pushes down the bamboo slip, and another takes his turn. These big earthen jars will hold from two to five gallons of liquor, and many of these are drained at a big feast.

Spirit.

In the manufacture of spirit, the bark of lemon, orange or jack tree is pounded together with rice into small round cakes. These cakes are kept covered with straw or cloth for three or four days and then dried in the sun for a day or two. The cakes are mixed with coarse boiled rice, and the compound is kept well covered up in a basket for twenty-four hours. It is then mixed with water and placed in earthen pots and kept carefully covered for three days. The time for distilling the spirit has now arrived. A large earthen vessel is placed on the fire, and the prepared mixture is poured into it. On the top of this an earthenware drinking vessel called korti is placed, the upper vessel has a hole drilled in the bottom, and is plastered carefully into the mouth of the large lower vessel. A pipe runs from a hole in the side of the 'korti' to a jar placed on the ground about six feet distant from the fire; the steam escapes through the upper vessel down the pipe into the vessel which is on the ground, and which is kept continually cool to assist distillation. Some people like to colour the spirit, in which case red sandal-wood powder is placed in a piece of cloth at the mouth of the tube entering the lower jar, which gives the liquor a pinkish colour.

The Hill-knife.

The *dao* or hill knife is common to all the tribes. It has a blade about sixteen inches in length, the end is about three inches in breadth and the blade tapers down to a point at the haft. It is sharpened on one side only, and is made to suit right and left handed persons separately. The blade is set in a handle of wood and a bamboo root makes the best handle of all. The manufacture of *daos* is almost solely in the hands of blacksmiths from outside the district. The value of the *dao* to the hillmen is priceless, and it is used for every conceivable purpose, a few of which are as follows: to cut the *jhum*, and with the broad end to dibble in the seeds at sowing time, to weed the *jhum*; to cut posts and prepare bamboo matting for the walls of his house; to strip cane slips to fasten down the roof; to slaughter animals and kill poultry; held under the foot in a sitting position to slice up fish, meat or vegetables, and to use as a weapon of offence and defence.



Karnafuli Multi-purpose Project, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Another implement used by the hillmen and manufactured by the blacksmiths of other districts is the axe-head. This is about nine inches in length and the cutting surface is two inches in breadth. It is fitted into a long handle, can be used lengthways as an axe and breadthways as an adze, fastening into the same handle. Axe-head.

The small sickle used in harvesting completes the implements in use by the hillmen.

Guns are held by the hill tribes under passes issued by the Government. The Majority are single barrel, muzzle-loading cap guns, of country make, and are purchased from licensed gunsmiths in Chittagong. A good many flintlock guns are still in use; in fact these are the only weapons of the Kuki tribes. Guns.

The Kukis use a powder of their own manufacture, and it is very powerful, though slow to ignite. The bullet is of solid iron beaten into rough bullet shape. These guns have a wonderful range, though of course not accurate. The saltpetre requisite for the manufacture of gunpowder is made by the collection of the dung of the tame gyal, mixed with earth taken from below the raised floor of the house, which is saturated with urine. A long cylindrical bamboo basket is filled with this mixture and suspended between wooden posts. Boiling water poured into the mixture dissolves the salts, and they drop through into a large iron pot which has been placed below the suspended basket. This solution, subsequently boiled until it gets quite thick, is drained off and allowed to crystallise. Finely powdered charcoal is added to the crystals, and if possible sulphur, but can be made without it and is even then very serviceable. The course of manufacture will require four or five days, and should be undertaken in fine warm weather. Ammunition.

All musical instruments in use amongst the hill tribe are manufactured locally, and the crudeness of their manufacture is quite in keeping with the sounds they emit. The principal are drums of various sizes resembling the tom-tom of the plains, but always played by striking with the hands. These are fashioned from hollow logs, having the ends covered with buffalo or gyal hide. They have also the flute from bamboo, and a curious wind instrument resembling a bag-pipe in shape and sound, it is made of gourd scraped out and dried. Yet another instrument is a three stringed lute roughly fashioned out of wood. The strings are of cane and the instrument is played like a guitar. Gongs are made from the ordinary brass thala or plate, great care being taken to select those of rich mellow tone. Musical instruments.

The above instruments comprise a full band, but they are seldom played at their full strength.

Boats.

Large and small boats called dugouts are fashioned out of the jungle trees cut for this purpose, and there is a big export trade in them. The trees generally selected for the purpose are locally known as *chapalish*, *telshar*, *boilshar*, *kamdeb*, *pitraj*; *gambhar* and *jaral*. A tree growing on or near the river bank is selected, felled and roughly fashioned into canoe shape. The inside is hollowed out and stayed with strong timber ribs called in the vernacular *baka*. This rough shape is then rolled into the river and floated down to Chittagong.

Cane and bamboo products.

Cane and bamboo are found in plenty in the forests of the Hill Tracts. Small industries based on these products gainfully employ a good number of hill population. The use of bamboo and cane is widespread in the district. The hillmen make their houses entirely with bamboo. They make baskets, walking sticks, water pipes, smoking pipes and objects of decorative and artistic value. With encouragement and help these handicrafts may develop greatly and find good markets in the country. Cotton and grain are exported in baskets made of finely split bamboos, and others of various sizes and shapes are made for storage purposes. Those woven from cane are stronger and better.

Large Scale Industries.

Large scale industries which have developed in this district are of recent origin and have been established after Independence. The following are the *large scale industries of the district: (1) Karnafuli Multipurpose Project, Kaptai; (2) Karnafuli Paper Mills, Ltd., Chandraghona; (3) Karnafuli Rayon and Chemicals Ltd., Chandraghona; (4) Karnafuli Project Mechanical Division Workshop, Chandraghona; (5) Eastern Pakistan Timber and Plywood Industries Co. Ltd., Chandraghona; (6) Sterling Plywood Products Ltd, Silichery, Chandraghona; (7) Kaptai Boat Building Industrial Corporation; (8) Azizuddin Cigarette Industries Ltd., Chambi, Aziznagar, P. O. Harbang; (9) Sattar Match Works, Ltd., Harbang; and (10) Wagasera Tea Estate. A brief account of the important ones is given below:

Karnafuli Multipurpose Project.

The Karnafuli river flows in a long horse-shoe bend at the Kaptai site. The conditions here were adequate for construction of an earth dam. The dam site was all a Reserve Forest area, which was inhabited by numerous wild animals. On

*The term "Large-Scale Industry" refers to factories and plants required to register under Section 2 (j) of the Factories Act, 1934, by virtue of having twenty or more employees and using power.



Inside View of Chandraghona Paper Mills, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

request from the Government of Pakistan, the Government of the United States of America agreed to render the necessary assistance through the ICA and, accordingly, contracts were finalised with the International Engineering Company Inc., first for the study of the project in 1954 and then for the engineering works in 1956. Utah International Inc. was selected as the constructor and contracts were finalised with the firm. They started work in October, 1957.

The Karnafuli Multipurpose Project is the first hydro-electric development project in East Pakistan. In addition to the generation of hydro-electric power, the project provides flood control and navigation benefits. It was constructed at a cost of about Rs.49 crores. The project provides now two 40 megawatt generating units with a total installed capacity of 80,000 KW. The earthfilled main dam is 153 feet high and has a crest 1800 feet long. The reservoir has a storage volume of about 4.4 million acre feet and covers an area of about 356 square miles. The 745 feet long spillway, located on the left embankment of the dam, provides for a maximum flood discharge of 525,000 cusecs through 16 'tainter gates'.

The power available from this project has accelerated the establishment and expansion of industries in the district. The abundance of cheap power in the area will permit pumping of water to achieve widespread irrigation and drainage benefits. The reservoir provides 400 miles of navigable water channels in areas previously inaccessible, thus promoting the economic extraction of forest products. The regulated and silt-free discharge below the dam will improve navigation by providing greater channel depths and permit maintenance of a deep water channel from the Bay of Bengal to the Port of Chittagong.

The fishing industry in the Kaptai Reservoir will annually produce 1,42,000 maunds of fresh water fish. Cultivation of fish of good quality has already started in the Reservoir.

The Karnafuli Paper Mills Ltd. was located at Chandraghona because of natural advantages and existence of some economies like availability of raw materials and cheap electric power, transport facilities offered by the river Karnafuli and the city port of Chittagong.

The Karnafuli
Paper Mills Ltd.

The setting up of the Karnafuli Paper Mills Ltd. with a daily production capacity of 100 tons was planned by Government in 1949-50 and its implementation was taken in hand by the Department of Supply and Development prior to the establishment of PIDC. The scheme was well underway when it was

handed over to PIDC for completion in January, 1952. The mill was completed in October, 1953 at a total cost of Rs. 65.90 million including a World Bank loan of Rs. 4.20 million dollars. The project was converted into a Public Limited company in October, 1953 with a paid-up capital of Rs. 46 million.

The corporation transferred the managing agency of the mill to M/S. Dawood Industries Ltd. in December, 1959 and sold all its shares to them and retained only a nominal investment of Rs. 1 million up to April, 1964 when complete disinvestment of the project was made by PIDC. The Karnafuli Paper Mills has been producing almost up to its rated capacity of 30,000 tons of paper per annum.

**Karnafuli
Rayon and
Chemicals Ltd.**

Karnafuli Rayon and Chemicals Ltd., the first venture of its kind in the Province, has been set up at Chandraghona by M/S Dawood Corporation Ltd. at a total cost of about Rs. 13 crores. Production of the chemical plant commenced in June 1966. Main products of the industry are viscose rayon yarn and cellophane paper. Installed production capacity of the plant is :

(1) 10 tons per day or 3,300 tons per year of viscose rayon yarn.

(2) 5 tons per day or 1,650 tons per year of cellophane paper.

Statistics available from the Directorate of Commerce and Industries, Government of East Pakistan, show that Karnafuli Rayon and Chemicals Ltd. produced 202 tons of viscose rayon yarn in the year 1966-67 and 1,087 tons over the period from July 1967 to December, 1967.

**Forest
Industries.**

Out of the total area of 5,093 square miles of the district (1961 Census), an area of 4,383 square miles are under forests. This means that about 85.3 per cent. of land in the district is under forest.

**(a) Mechanical
logging.**

The East Pakistan Forest Industries Development Corporation has taken up a number of schemes which are nearing completion. One of the basic projects taken up by the Corporation is the Mechanical Logging Project in the forests of Chittagong Hill Tracts, where some of the trees are upto 200 feet in height and have a girth of over 18 feet and the terrain is one of the most rugged in East Pakistan.



The Chandraghona Rayon Complex, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The Project aims at harvesting about 2.5 million cft. of timber per annum. After harvesting of the existing timber the area will be planted with teak and other valuable species for the future.

The EPFIDC is setting up a modern automated saw mill at Kaptai to handle the large quantity of logs coming down from the Karnafuli basin forests. Work on the saw mill project has already started. When completed, the saw mill will be able to handle one million cubic feet of lumber annually.

(b) Saw mill.

Topographical and climatic conditions in Chittagong Hill Tracts, as in some other districts, offer healthy prospect for plantation of rubber. Accordingly, the EPFIDC has taken up extensive plantation of rubber in the province. Plantation of rubber in the Chittagong Hill Tracts started in 1961. At present rubber plantation in the district extends over an area of 1,000 acres.

(c) Rubber
Plantation
and
Processing.

Based on forest produce, the Eastern Pakistan Timber and Plywood Industries and the Sterling Plywood Products Ltd., are located at Chandraghona.

(d) Other
Industries.

The Satter Match Factory and the Royal Textile Mills both at Harbang and the Azizuddin Industries Ltd. at Chambi, which manufacture cigarettes, have been located in the Bandarban subdivision.

Small scale industries have a vital role to play in a district like Chittagong Hill Tracts where lack of accumulated capital, technical skill and infrastructures result in slow growth of big manufacturing units.

Small Scale
Industries.

The survey report of the East Pakistan Small Industries Corporation of 1962-63 reveals that, by 1961, there were five broad types of small scale industries in Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are :

- (1) Agriculture and Food Products;
- (2) Metal Works;
- (3) Cane, Bamboo and Wood Products;
- (4) Pharmaceutical, Chemical and cosmetics; and
- (5) Textile Industries.

Under each of these five broad sectors the names and number of individual * small industries and their other relevant statistics are given in the following table :

(Value in rupees.)

Name of industry.	No. of unit.	Investment fixed.	Investment machinery.	No. of person engaged.	Raw materials consumed.	Goods produced.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(A) Agriculture and Food Products.						
1. Bakery	10	41,339	3,737	83	2,97,514	3,97,713
2. Beverage	1	12,360	1,500	5	8,160	9,960
3. Gur making	14	36,307	9,832	230	1,25,486	2,45,091
4. Rice mill	42	3,34,427	2,04,976	160	2,328	4,54,958
5. Sweetmeat	3	17,161	166	20	26,795	57,993
Total	70	4,41,594	2,20,211	498	4,60,283	11,65,715
(B) Cane, bamboo and wood products.						
6. Boat building	2	1,112	190	13	3,100	13,400
7. Saw mill	2	43,250	31,150	29	2,00,000	2,72,500
8. Wooden furniture	13	25,002	4,824	91	1,47,409	1,76,438
Total	17	69,364	36,164	133	3,50,509	4,62,338
(C) Metal works—						
9. Blacksmithy	6	7,660	3,035	29	20,696	56,464
10. Jewellery	4	12,311	1,071	19	31,223	64,969
11. Repairing	1	185	75	5	Servicing	3,600
Total	11	20,156	4,181	53	51,919	1,25,033
(D) Pharmaceutical, Chemical and Cosmetics.						
12. Medicine	1	1,890	140	5	1,208	4,183
(E) Textile Industries.						
13. Handloom	3	44,520	18,020	74	2,61,900	3,12,227
14. Readymade garments	16	34,925	9,649	57	3,33,582	4,62,860
Total	19	79,445	27,669	131	5,95,482	7,75,087
Total of the district	118	6,12,449	2,88,365	820	14,59,401	25,32,356

*The Survey Report of EPSIC has defined small scale industries in the following words :

"Small Industry means an industrial establishment or unit which is run mainly by hired labour and not using mechanical motive power for any operation. Or,

An industrial establishment or unit using mechanical motive power but does not normally employ more than 50 workmen and whose land, building and machinery do not exceed Rs. 2,50,000 in value in either cases."

Chittagong Hill Tracts with 118 small industrial units and a total area of 5,093 square miles has 0.2 unit per square mile; with 820 workers employed in all the units, the number of workers employed in each unit on an average is about 7 and the number of workers per 1,000 population in the district is 2.13. The value of fixed investment per worker is Rs.746.88, the value of investment in machinery per unit is Rs.2,443.77, the value of consumption of raw materials per unit is Rs.12,367, and the value of goods produced per unit on an average is Rs.21,460.64. All these figures, as already mentioned, relate to the year 1961, the survey year.

A survey of Cottage Industries has been conducted by the East Pakistan Small Industries Corporation in 1962. Cottage Industries have been defined in the Survey Report as follows:

Cottage
Industries.

"Cottage Industry means an industry which is carried on wholly or mainly by the members of a family either as a wholtime or as a part-time occupation".

Most of the cottage industries that exist at present in the Chittagong Hill Tracts are a reminiscent of the traditional household occupations pursued by the hillmen. Every house of the tribesmen is so to say a small factory of one variety or the other.

The survey report has included majority of these industries in the category "small scale industries". The three types of industries included in the "cottage industries" section are: (1) Agriculture and Food Product, (2) Metal works and (3) Textile Industries.

Under the three general headings, recent statistics of Cottage Industries in the district are given below:

(Value in rupees.)

Type of industry.	No. of Units.	Investment fixed.	No. of persons engaged.			Raw materials consumed.	Goods produced.
			Hired.	Family worker.	Total.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>(A) Agriculture and food Products.</i>							
1. Oil mills (Ghani) ..	46	32,200	46	136	182	1,01,200	1,42,600
<i>(B) Metal works.</i>							
2. Goldsmithy ..	69	43,700	198	138	336	4,94,500	6,18,700
<i>(C) Textile Industries.</i>							
3. Dyeing of yarn ..	23	13,800	115	115	230	1,52,950	2,26,366
4. Tailoring ..	46	34,500	52	161	213	1,10,400	1,70,200
District Total ..	184	1,24,200	411	550	961	8,59,050	11,57,866

Chittagong Hill Tracts with 184 Cottage Industries and total area of 5,093 square miles has 0.4 units per square mile; with 961 workers employed in all the cottage units, the number of workers employed in each unit on an average is 5.2 and the number of workers per 1,000 population in the district is 2.5. The value of production per worker is Rs.1,204.9 and the value of fixed investment per worker is Rs.129.2. The figures are meant for the year 1962.

B. TRADE AND COMMERCE.

As the hillmen produce to satisfy their own needs, commercial transactions play a minor role in their economic life. Such trade as exists in the district is almost entirely in the hands of Bengalees from Chittagong; the sale of paddy and cotton, the marketing of forest produce, is controlled by financiers of the plains. There are very few hillmen with sufficient capital for trade of any kind and they do not like to leave their hills for trade and commerce.

Hill people make their own clothes and display some skill in making baskets and other articles from bamboo. But they will not make more clothes than they require for their own use, nor more baskets than are needed to carry their jhum produce, in spite of good offers. They appear to look upon all such work as degrading, and are content to live a happy-go-lucky life.

However, the recent industrial development and production on commercial basis in the district have increased commercial transactions.

Trade and
Commerce in the
19th century.

Even in the past, there was exchange of goods between Chittagong Hill Tracts and outside. In the early seventies of the 19th century, the import trade of this district consisted of rice (husked and unhusked), salt, tobacco, cattle, goats, fowls, dried fish, betel-nuts, cloth, *daos*, pottery, and cheap pedlar's wares. The export from the district consisted of cotton, *kunda* boats (dug-outs), timber, bamboo, cane, thatching grass, leaves for making umbrellas, garjan oil, til-seed (sesamum), mustard and India-rubber.

The most important imports of the district were rice and salt. During the year 1874-75, 439 tons of unhusked rice, 643 tons of husked rice, and 378 tons of salt, were imported. Of the exports the most valuable was raw cotton; 2,015 tons of cotton were exported from the district in the year 1874-75. Most of the cotton grown in the district was sold to Bengali



Karnafuli Hydro Electric Station, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

traders, and floated down to Chittagong on bamboo rafts. Owing to the opening of a bazar at Demagiri, a trade in India-rubber had since 1872 been carried on with the independent tribes to the east of the British frontier. In the year 1872-73, 2 tons 18 cwt. India-rubber was purchased from these tribes; and in the year 1873-74 a gross quantity of about 25 tons was purchased and then exported from the Hill Tracts. The Deputy Commissioner, in his annual report for 1873-74, reported that India-rubber was brought by Kukis to the Demagiri bazar even from a distance of nine days' journey. At the close of the year 1874-75, Caoutchouc was coming into the bazar in considerable quantities from the Haulong country, and during the year, a total quantity of 68 tons 6 cwt. was purchased from the hill tribes; of this amount only a small portion (2 tons 6 cwt.) was exported, and the balance remained in store in the district.

The chief markets for the sale of produce of the district were at Kasalong, Rangamati, Chandraghona, Bandarban and Manikchari. The Deputy Commissioner stated in 1870, that the value of the articles exported by the hill people themselves was probably about the same as the value of the articles imported. If this was the case, the total value of the district exports must considerably exceed that of the imports, for large quantities of timber, bamboo, cane and thatching grass were every year taken away by men from the plain who enter the hills solely for the purpose of obtaining these articles of forest produce.

A detailed account of exports and imports of some of the important commodities for the year 1874-75 is given in the following table overleaf.

Rivers by which carried.	Exports.						Imports.			
	Cotton.	Mustard seed.	India-rubber.	Gajjan oil.	Tilseed.	Paddy.	Husked rice.	Tobacco.	Salt.	Dried fish.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Karnafuli ..	835	39	22.82	..	106	230	465	64	212	7
Feni ..	397	6.4	..	.04	39	13.67	61	18	49	35
Dhrung ..	27	3.9	..	..	0.18	..	..	..	..	..
Ichhamati ..	2.9	0.3	..	..	0.58	0.79	..	0.58	1.57	..
Sulak ..	1.7	..	..	..	..	0.73	2.64	0.62	8.45	0.58
Sangu ..	399	..	..	0.13	12.38	21.36	0.75	6.67	0.50	0.28
Matamuhuri ..	213	147	0.43	116.62	1.69	..	0.4	..	0.18	0.12
Baghkhal ..	139	31	..	9.88	6.17	170	39	6.17	0.39	27
Total ..	2,014.6	227.6	23.25	126.67	166	438.55	642.68	96.04	378.02	181.58

Before toll-stations were established on all the principal rivers passing through the district, the trade returns were necessarily very unsatisfactory, and even the above return for 1874-75 did not show accurately the entire trade of the district in the specified articles. There was no means of ascertaining the amount of traffic by land, and by small rivers on which there were no toll-stations. The Deputy Commissioner stated that the quantity thus omitted was not likely to be considerable except in the case of garjan-oil, which had practically ceased to be exported by river, on account of its being subjected to a tax when brought through a river toll-station, while it was exported free when shoulder-borne.

The advent of the present century does not show a marked change from the past in trade and commerce of the district. Early twentieth century trade of the Hill Tracts was principally in the hands of Chittagong Bengalees, who conveyed their goods from place to place by means of boats and rafts. But trading in cotton, oilseeds timber and other produces of the district was gradually spreading among the hill people and this was specially the case with the Chakmas who started showing marked signs of becoming shrewd trader. However, although the hill people were appearing on the scene, the bulk of the trade and commerce of the district remained in the hands of the Bengalees.

Trade and
Commerce in the
early 20th
century.

The principal exports of the district at this time consisted of forest produce, cotton, rice, oilseeds (mustard and rape) and rough dugouts which were subsequently converted into boats of all sorts. The sea-going *balam* boat, the *saranga* or the boat in ordinary use for river trade, the *koonda*, a boat peculiar to the districts of Noakhali and Comilla and the ordinary dug-out or canoe, which was in common use on all the rivers of the district provided the principal means of transport.

Some quantity of tobacco leaf was also exported from the southern portion of the district. An excellent tobacco was procured from the leaf grown on the banks of the Matamuhuri river during the winter months. This excellence was due to the heavy deposit of ash from the burnt jhums which mixed with the sandy soil, and made an ideal bed for the growth of the tobacco plant. The supply was, however, practically monopolised by the Maghs themselves, who are competent judges of good tobacco.

In old days there was a considerable export of India-rubber, which was indigenous to the country; greed for gain drove the hillmen to bleeding the trees to death, and by the early twentieth century the trees were extinct.

Ivory also used to figure amongst the exports of the district, but with the complete subjugation and settlement of the hill tribes, the slaying of elephants was prohibited and by this time only occasionally was a tusk smuggled through.

The principal imports from Chittagong were salt, piece-goods, bar iron for the manufacture of *daos*, axes and agricultural implements, and dry fish. Kerosine oil from Burmah was beginning to find its way into the bazars, and was used by the wealthy hillmen, but the peasant was content with the fire light, or a little *chirag* or earthenware lamp in which vegetable oil or animal fat was used.

The principal trade centres of the district then were Chandra-ghona, Rainkhyong, Rangamati; Shubalong, Kasalong, Bandar-ban and Ajodhiya.

These centres were busy places during the winter months, and their respective river-ghats (landing places) were crowded with varieties of boats and bamboo and timber rafts, while on the banks were stacks of grass, piles of baskets full of cotton and heaps of paddy or rice. These had all been brought in by the hillmen to be taken away by the Bengali trader in return for the cash advances he had made earlier during the cultivating season or in exchange for goods brought from Chittagong for the purpose of barter.

The following table shows position of exports and imports of the district in the years 1904-05, 1905-06 and 1906-07. (Source: Last Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts):

1	1904-05 2	1905-06 3	1906-07 4	Remarks. 5
Imports—				
(1) Piece-goods (value in Rupees.)	47,418	9,767	16,457	
(2) Paddy (maunds)	4,742	33,664	9,726	
(3) Rice (maunds)	8,091	20,829	45,285	An additional 20,000 maunds were imported by Government and issued as rice loans every year.
(4) Tobacco (maunds)	3,248	6,248	1,763	
(5) Salt (maunds)	20,911	23,978	20,888	The general decrease in the imports safely be attributed to scarcity of the two years, 1904-05 and 1905-06.
(6) Pulses (maunds)	660	415	273	

1	1904-05 2	1905-06 3	1906-07 4	Remarks. 5
Exports :				
(1) Paddy (maunds) ..	9,887	12,091	17,067	The increase in paddy export is due to the Jhum crop being an early one and the demand from Chittagong.
(2) Rice (maunds) ..	9,450	493	912	
(3) Tobacco leaf (maunds) ..	1,598	2,958	3,128	
(4) Cotton (maunds) ..	28,375	1,37,818	1,33,335	
(5) Mustard (maunds) ..	15,989	15,356	14,515	
(6) <i>Til</i> (sesamum) (maunds) ..	51,066	22,510	28,247	

The nature and composition of trade and commerce of Chittagong Hill Tracts have not undergone a marked change even after Independence. The bulk of the items of trade and commerce come from agriculture and forestry. The major part of the produce is consumed locally with a little surplus for trade outside the district except for some quantity of bamboo, timber and rough-hewn lumber. Although recent industrial expansion programme and production on commercial basis in the district have introduced some industrial outputs in the composition of trade and element of exchange on a greater scale, the general outlook of trade and commerce does not show, a radical change from the past. With the opening up of some recent routes of communication, both land and water, the transport facilities in the district have, no doubt, gone up and have, indeed, speeded up the tempo of commercial transactions but the age-old practice of carrying the commodities by country boats and bamboo rafts still continues. During the cold weather months and dry season, country boats of a carrying capacity varying between five and hundred maunds carry the imports to different markets of the interior; while large bamboo rafts float the cotton, oil seed, paddy and sunngrass down to the plains. In the height of the rains in addition to bamboo, large timber rafts and rough-hewn boats are exported.

However, the current industrial development based on forest produce like bamboo and timber has opened up vast possibilities of trade within the district as well as outside. The new agricultural pattern bringing large areas under a variety of fruit crops, which grow very little in the rest of the Province, holds out good prospects for trade within the country as well as outside. Cashewnut, for instance, should find excellent markets in foreign countries.

The essential material in the Hill Tracts economy, is bamboo. It grows in the jungle plentifully. With a *dao* in hand, the tribesman has an incredible skill in shaping objects with a few strokes. Walking sticks, carrying sticks and water pipes are made on the spot. Houses are entirely made of bamboo. Many tools and implements are made of bamboo. Bamboo is today a material of great industrial importance, used by the paper mill at Chandraghona. Bamboo and bamboo made products are essential articles of trade in Chittagong Hill Tracts. Similarly, timber plays a very important part in the economy and has been a major item of trade in the district.

Trade is mostly in the hands of plainsmen, a majority of them being from Chittagong. This is noticeable in the *hats* and bazars of the district. The primary producers hardly get adequate price for their produce which the middlemen from the plain districts buy locally or from the nearest market. In the Sajek Valley a basketful of good quality orange (some 100 or so) would sell for one rupee ; the middlemen would purchase them at such nominal price from the producers and sell them at an exorbitant price in the Rangamati and Chittagong markets. Inadequate communication is one of the main reasons for this state of affairs.

Present export trade of Chittagong Hill Tracts consists mainly of oilseeds (mustard, sesamum), ginger, turmeric, cotton bamboo, cane, timber, boats (dugouts), fruits, vegetables, paper, viscose rayon yarn and cellophane paper, fishes and tobacco.

Full information is not available on the items of imports and exports of the district. Inward and outward movement figures of commodities compiled by the Directorate of Agricultural Marketing show only a few agricultural products as item of imports of the district. Of them, the most important ones are rice, pulses, groundnut, mustard and soyabean oils, onion, garlic, chillies (dry), betel leaf, betelnut, dried fish and cocoanut.

Market and Business Centres.

Chittagong Hill Tracts has practically no standard market or business centre of repute. Commercial transactions are carried on mostly in the urban areas of Rangamati, Kaptai, and Chandraghona and in numerous *hats* and bazars scattered all over the district.

As regards management of the bazars and markets of Chittagong Hill Tracts, the district presents an interesting mode of administration. Except the Kaptai market that is managed by the Superintending Engineer, the bazars and markets in the district are managed by the Administrator, Bazar Fund

Committee. The Deputy Commissioner is the *ex-officio* Administrator of the Bazar Fund. In each Bazar, a Bazar Chowdhury is appointed by the Administrator of the Bazar Fund who collects the market charges and gets 15 per cent. of the total collected amount as his emolument.

The following are the important *hats* and bazars of Chittagong Hill Tracts; the principal commodities found in the market are noted against each :

Rangamati subdivision.

Name of <i>hat</i> /bazar.	Police-station in which located.	Important commodities assembled.
1. Rangamati market (An important assembling and distributing centre.)	Rangamati ..	Timber, bamboo, cane, rice, atta, pulses, maize, cotton, ginger, turmeric, oilseed, tobacco, vegetables, fruits, fishes, poultry, eggs, etc.
2. Rainkhong (Small village <i>hat</i> , supplies are consumed locally.)	Do. ..	Small quantities of rice, cotton, oilseed, ginger, turmeric, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, fish, poultry, eggs, etc.
3. Baradam market (Small village <i>hat</i> , supplies are consumed locally.)	Do. ..	Small quantities of rice, dryfish, vegetables, eggs and poultry, spices, etc.
4. Silpaitang market ..	Do. ..	Ditto.
5. Burighat market ..	Do. ..	Rice, cotton, oilseed, ginger, turmeric, banana, pineapples, vegetables, etc.
6. Perchara ..	Do. ..	Rice, cotton, mustard, sesamum, ginger, turmeric, banana, pineapple, vegetables, etc.
7. Bilaichari ..	Do. ..	Rice, cotton, oilseeds, ginger, turmeric, tobacco, banana, pineapple, vegetables, etc.
8. Pranab Para ..	Do. ..	Rice, cotton, oilseeds, ginger, turmeric, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, etc.
9. Namiarchar ..	Do. ..	Rice, cotton, jute, ginger, oilseeds, turmeric, pineapple, vegetables, etc.
10. Ranir Hat ..	Do. ..	Rice, cotton, oilseeds, pulses, ginger, vegetables, etc.
11. Sealbukka (Primary market.)	Do. ..	Rice, Cotton, mustard, sesamum, ginger, turmeric, banana, pineapple, vegetables, etc.
12. Kawkhali (Primary market.)	Do. ..	Rice, cotton, mustard, sesamum, ginger, turmeric, banana, pineapple, vegetables, etc.
13. Kutukchari ..	Do. ..	Rice, cotton, mustard, ginger, turmeric, sesamum, banana, pineapple, vegetables, etc.

Name of <i>haat</i> /bazar.	Police-station in which located.	Important commodities assembled.
14. Barkal	Barkal	Rice, cotton, ginger, oilseed, turmeric, pulses, banana, and other fruits, vegetables, fish, orange, timber, bamboo, sesame and boat.
15. Subalong	Do.	Rice, cotton, oilseed, ginger, turmeric, banana, pineapple, vegetables, fish, etc.
16. Subalong Khagrachari	Do.	Rice, cotton, ginger, turmeric, mustard, sesamum, banana, pineapple, vegetables, fish, etc.
17. Juraichari (Primary market.)	Do.	Rice, cotton, oilseeds, ginger, turmeric, banana, pineapple, vegetables, etc.
18. Chota Horina market (Primary market.)	Do.	Ditto.
19. Thega Mukh (Primary market.)	Do.	Rice, cotton, ginger, turmeric, mustard, sesamum, banana, pineapple, vegetables, orange, etc.
20. Guichari (Primary market.)	Do.	Ditto.
21. Raikhali (Important assembling and distributing centre.)	Chandraghona	Rice, cotton, turmeric, ginger, oilseeds, vegetables, fruits, pulses, etc.
22. Kaptai (Important daily market supplies are consumed locally.)	Do.	Rice, atta, pulses, poultry, eggs, fishes, vegetables, fruits, etc.
23. Wagga	Do.	Rice, pulses, cotton, ginger, turmeric, banana, vegetables, etc.
24. Chawdhury Chara market .. (Daily bazar, supplies are consumed locally.)	Do.	Rice, pulses, spices, vegetables, fruits, fish, etc.
25. Kawkhali	Do.	Rice, pulses, oilseeds, cotton, vegetables, gur, etc.
26. Rajthali	Do.	Rice, cotton, ginger, turmeric, mustard, sesamum, banana, pineapples, vegetables, etc.
27. Chandraghona Bazar	Do.	All agricultural and farm products. Principal trade centre of the district for timber, bamboo, cane, boats, cotton, sesame, and sunngrass.
28. Langadu Market (An important assembling and distributing centre.)	Langadu	Rice, cotton, jute, oilseeds, ginger, turmeric, fruits, vegetables, fishes, pulses, spices, etc.
29. Kattali market (Important assembling and distributing centre.)	Do.	Ditto.

Name of <i>hats</i> /bazaars.	Police-station in which located.	Important commodities assembled.
30. Mainimukh market (Important assembling and distributing centre).	Langadu	Rice, cotton, jute, oilseeds, ginger, turmeric, fruits, vegetables, fishes, pulses, spices, etc. It is an important bamboo and timber trading centre.
Ramgarh subdivision.		
31. Ramgarh (Important assembling and distributing centre).	Ramgarh	Rice, cotton, oilseeds, spices, pulses, salt, gur, molases, fruits, vegetables, etc.
32. Guimra	Do.	Ditto.
33. Ajodhia Bazar (Primary market).	Do.	It is an important market for cotton and sesame.
34. Tabalchhari (Important assembling and distributing centre).	Do.	Famous for commercial activities in raw materials and vegetables. Rice, cotton, ginger, turmeric, mustard, sesame, banana, pineapples, vegetables are some of the important commodities assembled.
35. Dewanbazar (Primary market).	Do.	Rice, cotton, oilseeds, spices, fruits and vegetables.
36. Manikchhari (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
37. Jogyachola (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
38. Mahalchhari (Important assembling and distributing centre).	Mahalchhari	It is an important market for cotton and sesame. Besides rice, jute, oilseeds, gin- ger, turmeric, fruits, vegetables are the important commodities for sale.
39. Khagrachhari (Important assembling and distributing centre).	Do.	Centrally located, it is the most enlightened area of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Important market for rice, cotton, jute, oilseeds, spices, fruits, poultry, vege- tables, etc.
40. Panchari (Assembling centre).	Do.	Rice, paddy, cotton, oilseeds, spices, fruits, vegetables, etc.
41. Maischhari	Do.	Rice, paddy, cotton, oilseeds, spices, fruits, vegetables, etc.
42. Bhaibanchhara (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
43. Laksmi Chari (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
44. Dighinala (Primary market).	Dighinala	Rice, cotton, ginger, turmeric, mustard, sesame, banana, pineapple, orange, vege- tables, etc.
45. Boalkhali (Primary market).	Do.	Rice, cotton, spices, oilseeds, fruits, vege- tables.
46. Babuchara (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.

Name of <i>hats</i> /bazaars.	Police-station in which located.	Imported commodities assembled.
47. Bairagi (Primary market).	Dighinala	Rice, cotton, spices, oilseeds, fruits, and vegetables.
48. Longong (Primary market).	Ditto	Ditto.
49. Kasalong	Do.	Rice, paddy, cotton, oilseeds, spices, fruits, fishes, vegetables, bamboo, timber.
50. Marishya (A newly established bazar of Kasalong rehabilitation area; seat of a model town constructed here).	Do.	This is adjacent to the Reserve Forest and is a transit of trade for forest products.

Bandarban Subdivision.

51. Bandarban (Important assembling and distributing centre).	Bandarban	Rice, mutton, oilseeds, ginger, tobacco, turmeric, pulses, fruits, vegetables, etc.
52. Roerangchari (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
53. Bangmara (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
54. Ghorroer (Primary market).	Do.	Rice, cotton, oilseeds, ginger, tobacco, turmeric, pulses, fruits, vegetables, etc.
55. Goaliakhola (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
56. Lama (Important assembling and distributing market).	Lama	Rice, pulses, oilseeds, ginger, turmeric, cotton, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, etc.
57. Alikadam (Primary market).	Do.	Rice, cotton, pulses, tobacco, spices, fruits, vegetables, etc. It is an important timber extraction centre of FIDC and is adjacent to the Matamuhuri Reserve Forest.
58. Ruma	Ruma	Rice, oilseeds, pulses, ginger, turmeric, cotton, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, etc.
59. Balipara (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
60. Thancchi (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
61. Murung (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
62. Baisary (Primary market).	Naikhongchhari	Rice, cotton, pulses, ginger, turmeric, oilseeds, tobacco, fruits and vegetables, etc.
63. Tumbruc (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.
64. Ghangdhury Noapara (Primary market).	Do.	Ditto.

The hillmen are improvident and in financial difficulties resort to borrowing from local moneyed men very often at a high rate of interest. Mr. W. W. Hunter in his "Statistical Account of Bengal" (1875), had the following to state in this respect:

Indebtedness and
rural credit.

"Before the Chittagong Hill Tracts were placed under the direct management of a British Officer, it had been customary for the hillmen to borrow money when they required it from their Chief, or from some other hillmen who was better off than themselves. No interest was paid for the money thus borrowed; but instead of interest, the borrower bound himself, his wife, or one or more of his children, to serve the lender until the debt should be paid. These debtor-slaves were well treated; they could not be sold or given away by their master, and when they were subsequently released by the order of the British authorities, many of them returned to their masters, according to their original agreement. As a necessary result of the prohibition of this system of debtor-slavery, the chiefs and other rich hillmen refused to lend money to those in want, and the hillman, when he wished to borrow, was forced to resort to the Bengali money-lender; and through his ignorance and freedom from suspicion, he assented by any conditions the money-lender thought fit to impose. The hillman generally failed to fulfil the obligations he had carelessly and in ignorance incurred, and he frequently became more truly a slave to the money-lender than he would ever have been to his chief under the old system of debtor-service. The evils that arose from allowing the hillmen to fall into the power of Bengali money-lenders were so great, that it was deemed desirable to limit the rate of interest that could be legally claimed from a hillman to twelve per cent. per annum. The officers of the Hill Tracts report, that the effect of this measure, coupled with the strict enforcement of the registration of bonds, has been most satisfactory, and that the difficulty in now obtaining loans makes the hillman more thrifty and more prudent than he was formerly. It has, however, another effect, for the money-lender will certainly not lend at twelve per cent. to a hillman who has no fixed residence, and can move at any moment to beyond the British

jurisdiction. The borrower and lender must, therefore, either agree to evade the restriction on the rate of interest, or else the hillman must have resort to Government in his difficulties. The former alternative, no doubt, occasionally takes place; and it would probably have been of far more frequent occurrence had not Government sanctioned advances being made to hill-men without interest, repayable in labour on local works at the rate of one day's labour for each eight pence advanced. During the year 1869-70, £1,094 was thus advanced by Government, in order to lighten the distress caused by a partial failure of crops."

Writing about the indebtedness of the hillmen in the beginning of the 20th century, Mr. R. H. S. Hutchinson, in the District Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts, says:

"It will thus be seen that a strong and healthy young married couple can have a very fair margin in a good year to put by or invest in live-stock or jewellery; their nature is so improvident, however, that the surplus will generally be wasted in feasts or frivolities, and no provision will be made for adverse times. A striking instance of their improvidence is that they will not even set aside a portion of their harvest for seed for the coming year, but will sell their produce in a cheap market and buy seed in an expensive one. This improvidence is the ruination of the hillmen for practically the whole population is indebted to the Mahajans. In an ill-fated hour the hillman borrows a few rupees from some Mahajan, he wants the money either on account of marriage, bad season, or for daily wants; he can barely read or write, consequently the bond in which the transaction is recorded usually binds him to pay some enormous amount of interest, and it is seldom that the account is ever finally cleared."

The Report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30, is silent on the existence of loan giving institutions in Chittagong Hill Tracts but says that there were individual money-lenders in the district during that time. According to the statistics in the Report, there were 9 (nine) money-lenders for every lakh of population in the district.

The Report further says that the money-lenders were flourishing in various districts of Bengal including Chittagong Hill Tracts and the rates of interest charged by them were high.

Village money-lenders constitute even today an important source of rural credit in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. But this is an unrecognised source and it is understood that the well-to-do persons in Chittagong Hill Tracts advance loan to Hill-men in cash or kind at high rate of interest with or without security.

Present Banking
and financial
institutions.

Other agencies of loan-making in the district at present are commercial banks, Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan, Agriculture Department (Taccavi Loan), Rehabilitation Department, EPADC and Co-operative Societies.

By August 1969, four scheduled banks had their branches operating in Chittagong Hill Tracts. The first Pakistani bank opening its branch in the district is the National Bank of Pakistan; its first branch was started at Chandraghona in April, 1953. Subsequently, three more branches of the National Bank of Pakistan were started in the district; one at Rangamati in January, 1964, one at Ramgarh in August, 1965 and the other at Bandarban in August 1965. Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan opened its first branch at Rangamati in December, 1961. Another branch of the ADBP has started functioning at Bandarban since April, 1969. The Eastern Mercantile Bank Ltd. has its only branch in Rangamati opened in December, 1967. The Habib Bank Ltd. has two branches, one at Rangamati started in November, 1964 and the other at Chandraghona started in February, 1965. There is no non-scheduled Bank operating in the district at present.

The position of rural credit in the district is not satisfactory and the number of loan-making institutions is not sufficient to cater to the needs of credit of the district.

There is no measure of length known to the ordinary hill people, and the distance between two places is only defined by the time occupied in walking from one place to the other. A day's journey or an hour's journey are the forms of expression used. Land is measured by the amount of paddy required to sow it. Grain is measured by the hillmen in baskets of different sizes. The smallest basket used for this purpose is called a 'Chainkrang', sixteen 'Chainkrangs' make one 'tang' and three 'tangs' of rice when weighed make one maund. The 'tang' is the same measure as the 'Ari' also used in the district. Paddy and oilseeds are measured by 'Ari.'

Weights and
measures.

Ten seers of paddy make an 'Ari', eleven seers of *til* seeds make an 'Ari', Twelve seers of mustard seeds make an 'Ari'.

Tolas, seers and maunds are also used in measuring commodities. Eighty tolas make a seer; forty seers make a maund. In the urban areas and in important *hats* and bazars standard measures used in East Pakistan are current.



A Mugh Woman from Karbaripara, Chittagong Hill Tracts

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC HEALTH

Rangamati was not a very good place to live in both for the Europeans and the plainmen. It had an evil reputation for bad climate. In reporting the transfer of the Headquarters from Chandraghona to Rangamati, unhealthiness, scarcity of pure water, lowness of the ground and difficulty in establishing a bazar owing to the refusal of the traders to remain during rains and unhealthy seasons, were the things complained of by Major J. M. Graham, officiating Deputy Commissioner in the Administrative Report of the district for the year 1868-69 (*vide* his No. 244, dated 6th June 1869). H. Ulick Brown, officiating Commissioner of Chittagong Division, remarked, "A place is often more unhealthy the first year after clearing away jungle and forest than afterwards. And I hope this may prove the case as regards Rangamatia, which possesses so many advantages in other respects that every effort should be made to retain the Headquarters there" (*vide* No. 133, dated the 18th June, 1869).

Public health in early times.

Previously, the Deputy Commissioner was the *ex-officio* Civil Surgeon of Chittagong Hill Tracts. Until 1940, the Civil Surgeon of the district was in charge of both the medical and public health matters. But under the Board of Revenue Notification No. 10262-E.A., dated the 2nd September, 1940, a separate public health organization under the District Health Officer was introduced and the Civil Surgeon was replaced by a Civil Assistant Surgeon, some of the dispensaries in the interior being placed under the control of the District Health Officer. The post of the District Health Officer has been raised to the Chief Medical Officer of Health with effect from the 1st August, 1958 and the post of the Civil Surgeon was also restored to the district from 1st August, 1962.

Medical facilities in early times.

In 1902, the medical aid of this district consisted of the hospitals at Rangamati and Bandarban and charitable dispensaries at Rangamati, Barkal, Manikseri, Mohalchari, Lama and Chandraghona. The medical staff consisted of a Civil Surgeon in charge of the district and a Civil Hospital Assistant at each of the dispensaries. In 1902, the total number of patients in receipt of medical aid amounted to 11,477 while the returns of 1907 showed 35,602 from the Government hospital and 12,626 by the medical mission at Chandraghona. The medical budget of the district in 1902 amounted to Rs.16,284 per annum and in addition, Government allowed three thousand rupees to vaccination.

The hill people in past years were averse to coming in for a medical treatment and in most cases preferred their own method of treatment. This was in no way due to dislike or fear of this treatment, but to the great inconvenience of going in and being treated at the hospitals. To convey a serious case to the hospital meant a considerable amount of inconvenience and derangement of the daily routine to a hill family. It was necessary to depute persons to attend and minister to his wants, also to bring in the necessary food supplies. All this entailed much hardship to the family and acted as a strong deterrent in all but the most serious cases.

All the hill tribes possessed a certain knowledge of useful drugs to be extracted from the jungle produce of the district. The Chakmas especially had studied the matter fully and their pharmacology was considerable. As a rule, however, cure of the ordinary ailment was left to nature, and in aggravated cases, pujas or exorcisms were performed.

Vital statistics.

The vital statistics collected in the district do not extend further back than 1892. The duty of reporting births and deaths was imposed on the village *chaukidars* who began to register births along with deaths and the causes of the deaths and they reported the same to their respective police stations. Entries were made in the thanas from where the District Health Officer collected such information.

The present system of collecting vital statistics in rural areas is that the Sanitary Inspectors are the Registrars of Births and Deaths in each thana of the district. They collect *hatchitas* of birth and death from the headmen within their jurisdiction. The headmen of mauzas maintain the *hatchita* of births and deaths. Entries into the birth and death registers are made by the Thana Sanitary Inspectors who send monthly returns to the Chief Medical Officer who compiles the statistics for the whole district and submits the same to the Health Directorate.

In the urban areas, birth statistics are collected from different hospitals and in cases, where births are not reported to the hospitals, it is the duty of the citizens to report births to the Municipal or Town Committee concerned. Registration of deaths are done through different agencies in-charge of burning ghat, graveyard, etc. All these figures are collected in the municipality where these statistics are compiled and are ultimately submitted to the Health Directorate.

The vital statistics collected in this way are incomplete and often inaccurate due to the illiteracy of the *chaukidars* or headman and their inadequate strength.

These statistics though far from complete and without any great pretensions to accuracy afford data for gauging the growth of population, for comparing one year with another in the matter of healthiness as well as for comparing the mortality due to different diseases. It is evident that taking the period 1951-1962, the highest birth rate, 20 per thousand population, was recorded in 1951 and the lowest, 4.1 per thousand population, in 1961. The highest death rate, 12.2 per thousand population, was recorded in 1955 and the lowest 1.9 per thousand population, in 1961.

Moreover, figures show that from 1951 to 1962, there is a continuous surplus of recorded births over recorded deaths practically every year. Although, the figures do not indicate a steady uniformity in the rise and fall of birth and death rates, the general tendency is, however, for the recorded births to exceed the recorded deaths. A comparison of the average annual birth rate per thousand population with the average annual death rate per thousand population during 1951-62 shows that the births exceeded the deaths by 6.75 per 1,000 population.

Malarial fever with its concomitant splenic enlargement is one of the principal diseases of the district. It was very prevalent in the beginning of the twentieth century also.

Diseases
common to the
district:
Malaria.

More than half the recorded deaths are assigned to unnamed fever because the *chaukidars* take the word of the relatives as the cause of deaths. Malaria is still the major cause of deaths in the district. The annual average of deaths due to malaria during 1951-62 was 695, equivalent to 2.36 per thousand population. In 1965, 178 deaths occurred in the district due to malaria. Moreover, figures show a decreasing trend of the disease. The number of deaths came down from 1,008 in 1951 which was the highest figure during the period, to 135 in 1962.

The above statistics may not be very accurate as *chaukidars* reporting deaths sometimes make mistakes regarding cause of death and the technical distinction between various kinds of fever.

The deaths from malaria goes upward from September and reaches its peak in December.

The Government sponsored D. D. T. indoor spraying operations under the National Malaria Control scheme was undertaken in 1953 at Rangamati. The scheme was extended to the Ramgarh and Bandarban subdivisional headquarters.

The total number of malaria patients treated by the Rural Health staff during 1966 was 30,719. During 1965, 18,170 tablets and 4,016 of quinine sulpha powder were distributed as anti-malaria drugs by the Rural Health staff in the district.

Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 under anti-malaria scheme was Rs. 10,000 only.

Cholera.

"Cholera is by no means pronounced in the district and is probably almost always introduced by the travelling traders.

The hill man has a most morbid dread of cholera which has led him in the past to invent a most rigid system of isolation. In any village in which cholera arises as well in the neighbouring villages, a bamboo frame work representing a barrier, is erected on the main path leading to houses.

"The mughs go still further in their precautionary measures running a cotton thread right round the outside of the village, and for four days, no outsider may enter it. A villager may go out to his daily task but must return at nightfall. During these four days of segregation, nothing can be slaughtered nor is it permissible to introduce any flesh from outside. These going to bathe must not take off any of their clothes, but enter the water as they are and only change them after the bath. In additions to this, the superstitious worship of *Rigner*, the goddess of cholera, whom the mughs fear dictates that prayer written on strip of paper and on clothes should be hung up at each corner of the village, which serve as additional warnings and prohibitions to outsiders.

"The companion picture to this, however, is that they will not burn the body of patient who dies from cholera, but bury him, and after the body has been in earth for weeks or months, they do not hesitate to exhume and burn it without the slightest thought that there may be in it a trace of the disease they fear."*

The average annual recorded deaths during 1951-62 was 25.66 equivalent to an average rate of .08 per thousand population. The highest cholera deaths (116) occurred in 1951. The reported death figures do not show any uniformity. The number

*Hutchinson, District Gazetteer of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (1912.)

of deaths varies from 12 to 116. Moreover, figures show a decreasing trend of deaths. No cholera death occurred in the district since 1959.

The total number of inoculations performed in 1966 was 2,11,872.

Small-pox is not at all pronounced in the district. Death figure happens to be almost nil in the district. During 1951-62 small-pox deaths occurred in three years only, the maximum number (5) being in 1958.

The total number of vaccinations performed in rural areas during 1966 was 2,31,789.

The average number of Rural Health staff engaged in vaccination work during 1966 was 4.3 and the average number of vaccination performed by each public health staff was 4,826.64. The staff engaged in small-pox Eradication Scheme in 1966 were 3 Subdivisional Medical Officers, 11 Sanitary Inspectors, 32 Health Assistants and 8 Vaccinators.

The area of operation of the scheme includes Kotwali, Chandraghona, Langodu, Barkal, Marishya, Mahalchari, Dighinala, Ramgarh, Bandarban, Ruma and Nakhyangchari health circles.

Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 under Small-pox Eradication Scheme was Rs. 40,752.53.

The diseases next in importance are dysentery and diarrhoea which may be classed under one head. The average annual mortality under this head during 1960-62 was 65.3, the rate-being .19 per thousand population. In 1965, 85 deaths occurred in the district due to dysentery and diarrhoea. One interesting feature is that nearly every conceivable animal, reptile and many strange plants find a place in the menu of one or other of the various tribes represented, and almost the whole community will eat dried fish, imperfectly cured and very often rotten, as well as the most indifferent pork in very large quantities.

Dysentery and
Diarrhoea.

There is a marked prevalence of joint pains coupled with the almost entire absence of rheumatic fever or acute rheumatism. These joint pains are probably rheumatic affections in many cases. But are very often the result of the presence of worms and other intestinal trouble.

Joint pains.

Tuberculosis in its varied manifestation as also venereal diseases are, on the whole, refreshingly uncommon.

Tuberculosis.

During 1951-65, the highest number of T.B. deaths (10) occurred in 1965 and the figures vary from only 1 to 10 cases. In 1966, only 8 deaths occurred in the district.

B. Clinic.

Established in 1965, the T.B. clinic at Rangamati is entirely managed by the Government for the benefit of T.B. patients only on an outdoor basis. The clinic is headed by a Medical Officer under the supervisory control of the Chief Medical Officer, Rangamati. The staff consists of a B.C.G. technician, a Junior staff nurse, two lady home visitors and a compounder.

In 1966, 86 outdoor patients were treated in the clinic. The average number of cases treated yearly since its establishment (1965-66) was 51.5. From June, 1965 to February, 1967, 1,455 B.C.G. tuberculosis tests and 896 B.C.G. vaccines were conducted by this clinic.

Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 was Rs.25,294.69.

Kala-azar.

This disease is gradually decreasing in the district. In 1966 there were only 2 deaths from this cause.

As deaths from the disease are decreasing, there is at present no kala-azar treatment centre in the district and the kala-azar patients are treated in different hospitals and dispensaries in the district.

Leprosy.

There is leprosy certainly, but in no marked disproportion. The annual average during 1951-62 was 191, the rate being 40 per thousand population. During the period, the number of deaths varied from only 1 in 1955 to 9 in 1953. The total number of leprosy deaths reported in 1966 was 4 only and the number of leprosy patients treated during the year was 12.

Leprosy Home.

The Leprosy Home at Chandraghona was established in 1913. There are 20 beds for inpatients and the centre is managed by the Christian Hospital, Chandraghona. The hospital provides free treatment including food, clothing, pocket money, travelling allowance, etc., to the in-patients.

In 1966, 14 in-patients were cured by this Home. In March, 1967, there were 380 out-patients of whom 150 attended the out-patient clinic at Main Mukh valley.

Infant deaths.

The average number of infant deaths occurred annually in the district during 1960-62 was 181.3, the rate being 85.9 per thousand population. The number of infant deaths in 1965 was 15.

Maternal deaths.

The number of maternal deaths in the district is almost negligible. In 1965, only 2 deaths occurred in the district.

The Maternity and Child Welfare Centres functioning in the district are located at Rangamati, Bandarban, Khagrachari and Rupakari.

There are in all, 8 hospitals in the district of which one is Hospitals, Sadar Hospital, two subdivisional hospitals, one Police-Hospital, one private non-aided hospital and three thana dispensary-cum-hospitals.

The Rangamati Sadar Hospital which was established in 1904 Sadar Hospital, was submerged by the Karnaphuli Reservoir and was shifted to its new site in the heart of the town in 1960. It has 15 beds for male and 10 beds for female patients. There are 4 doctors and 6 nurses in the hospital.

In 1966, 886 indoor patients and 14,502 out-door patients were treated in the hospital. The average number of patients treated annually during 1962-66 was 904.6 in indoor and 16,932 in out-door sections.

It has a family planning centre attached to it.

Besides the hospital collection, the Government grant to the hospital amounted to Rs.50,267 in 1965-66.

Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 was Rs.56,315.13.

Established in 1874, this is a state special hospital at Ranga- Police Hospital, mati for the use of police personnel only. There are 20 beds for indoor treatment in two general wards with only one doctor in the hospital.

In 1966, 314 patients were admitted to the hospital, the average daily indoor admission during the year being 8 only. In 1966, 2,893 outdoor patients were also treated in the hospital.

Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 was Rs.14,090.

The Arthington Hospital at Chandraghona under Rangamati subdivision was opened by Sir Lancelot Hare, the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, in January, 1909. The dispensary attached to it was established earlier in 1906 by the London Baptist Mission at a cost of about Rs.5,000 of which Rs.1,500 was a Government grant. Both the dispensary and the Hospital are monuments of the munificence of the Late Mr. Robert Arthington of Leeds who left a handsome amount for mission work. The dispensary is called "The Hutchinson" as a tribute to the sympathy and assistance extended by Mr. R.H.S. Hutchinson, a former Superintendent of the Hill Tracts, in the establishment of these medical centres. Christian Hospital.

Today, it is a general hospital with a Leprosy Home attached to it and is known as the Chandraghona Christian Hospital. The Hospital has 245 beds with 120 for Leprosy, 12 for Mid-wifery, 61 cabins and the rest for general diseases, particularly surgery. There are three doctors including two specialists. In 1966, 1,455 patients were admitted to the hospital, the average daily indoor attendance during the year being 80. During 1966, the total number of out-patients to the hospital were 4,563 new cases and 11,839 repeat visit. The average number of out-patients treated annually during 1960-64 was 22,240.

Senior Training School for Nurses and Compounders' Training School—both of these recognised by the Government—are attached to this hospital. In order to modernise the hospital, new buildings are under construction.

It is a non-aided private hospital. Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 was Rs.2 lakhs.

Barkhal Hospital.

Barkhal thana dispensary-cum-hospital under Rangamati subdivision was established in 1963 with 6 beds and a doctor. The treatment is made on the out-door basis only. In 1966, 4,549 patients were treated in out-door section.

Ramghar Sadar Hospital.

Established in 1908, the hospital has 10 beds with a doctor and two nursing attendents.

In 1966, 356 indoor patients and 9,554 outdoor patients were treated in the hospital, the average daily attendance during the year being 9 in indoor and 234 in outdoor sections. The average number of 299·8 in-patients and 8,286 out-patients were treated annually during 1962-66.

Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 was Rs.39,742·74.

Mohalchari Hospital.

Opend in 1912 it is at present a 6 bedded hospital in Ramgarh subdivision. Indoor section consists of 2 wards (surgical and medical) with 3 seats in each ward. There is a doctor attached to the hospital. In 1966, 61 in-door patients and 2,962 out-door patients were treated in the hospital, the average daily attendance during the year being 76 in indoor and 9·77 in outdoor sections.

Dighinala Hospital.

Established in 1903 Dighinala thana dispensary-cum-hospital is at present a 6 bedded hospital with a doctor only in the Ramghar subdivision. In 1966, 70 indoor patients and 9,845 outdoor patients were treated in the hospital, the average daily attendance during the year being 19 and 26·97 respectively.

Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 was Rs.10,354.

Bandarban subdivisional hospital was established in 1874 as a dispensary and was converted to hospital in 1947. It has 10 beds for indoor treatment, with one doctor and two nurses. In 1966, 233 in-patients and 7,716 out-patients were treated in the hospital, the average daily attendance during the year being 63 and 20.82 respectively. The average number of patients treated annually during 1962-66 was 206 in indoor and 9,616.8 in out-door sections.

Bandarban Sub-
divisional
Hospital.

Besides the hospital's income, there was a Government grant amounted to Rs.16,700 in 1965-66. Expenditure incurred during 1965-66 was Rs.14,830.37.

Besides the general dispensaries in Sadar and Subdivisional hospitals and the Chandraghona Mission Hospital, there are three 6 bedded hospitals-cum-dispensaries at Mahalchari, Dighinala and Barkal.

Dispensaries.

There is another 6 bedded hospital-cum--dispensary at Marishya which is being maintained by the Relief Department under the control of the Deputy Commissioner, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Besides, there is one thana dispensary at Ruma and eleven rural dispensaries at Lama, Nakhyongchari, Longodu, Subolong-Khagrachari, Khagrachari, Panchari, Manikchari, Babuchari, Guimara, Sealbukka and Ali Kadam.

During the second plan period, two Rural Health centres were constructed, one at Marishya, the new model town and the other at Tabalchari both in Ramgarh subdivision of the district. Of the two centres, the Tabalchari centre was opened in 1965 and the centre at Marishya was opened in 1966.

Rural Health
Centres.

Each of these centres had a four bed non-district ward (2 for maternity, 2 for general). Cases requiring indoor treatment are referred to the nearest hospital. The centre performs immediate diagnosis, medical treatment, minor surgery on an out-door basis, maternity and child health services, school health services, tuberculosis control, collection, consolidation of vital statistics, family planning assistance and public health education.

In 1966, 9,097 patients were treated in the Marishya centre and 5,873 patients in the Tabalchari centre.

Each of the two centres is staffed by a male medical officer, a lady medical officer, a health visitor, a Sanitary Inspector-cum-Malaria Inspector, a laboratory technician, a midwife and a health assistant.

School Hygiene. A School Health Centre has also started functioning at Rangamati since 1965. A medical officer and other staff were appointed by the Government. The schools are visited by the Sanitary Inspectors and the School Medical Officer of Hill Tracts who distribute necessary medicines among the suffering school-going children.

Water supply in rural areas. There is no adequate supply of pure water as it is not possible to sink so many deep tube-wells for the people who are living in scattered way on the top of different hills and the people are constrained to drink unwholesome and unfiltered river and well water. For the most part, water is drawn from the small canals and ring wells for drinking purpose.

The position regarding water supply in rural areas has recently been improved as most of the tube-wells in this district were sunk after 1960.

In 1966, there were 859 tube-wells in working order out of a total of 959 tube-wells in the district. So, each tube-well covered 5 square miles of area and supplied water to 425 people in the rural areas of the district.

Drinking water supply in rural areas has only very recently been undertaken by the Public Health Engineering Department. The department was established in 1960 and has sunk and re-sunk a good number of tube-wells in the rural and urban areas of the district, comprising Khagrachari, Tabalchhari, Marishya Model town and Rangamati.

Water supply in urban areas. Rangamati town is on a hilly place. Water cannot be supplied on gravity system. Water is supplied on gravity system in some areas and by electric pumping system in some areas of the town. Water is supplied to the consumers twice a day. The main source of supply is from the lake of Kaptai Dam. Raw water of the lake is stored in the settling tank by electric pumping set and from where it goes rapid to sand filtration plant by gravity system and then to reservoir Tank by electric pumping system. From this Reservoir tank, water is supplied to the consumers by gravity system in some areas and by Electric pumping set in some areas of the town.

Sanitation. Sanitation of the district can roughly be divided into rural and urban. Rural sanitation, conservancy, etc., are managed by the Chief Medical Officer of Health and the urban sanitation, conservancy, water supply, etc., are looked after by the Bazar Fund Committee.

The work of rural sanitation is carried on under great disadvantages, the extreme distances and difficulty of transport, combined with the smallness of village hamlets and the scattered character of the population render the work of the sanitary staff exceedingly arduous. Side by side with many excellent ideas and practices, the people of the Hill Tracts infringe many of the most obvious laws of health, and needless to say the chain of health and well-being often snaps at its weakest link. Almost without exception, the site of a village is chosen with reference to high ground which secure natural drainage. An eye is kept too upon the proximity of a good water supply and for the most part, this is drawn from the main rivers or the mountain streams. Rural Sanitation.

Mention be made of the well raised house with very open work walls, and where the domestic waste water and refuse from meals, and worse, not all or most of it allowed to fall through holes in the floor, it would be difficult to conceive of much healthier houses.

The chain of sanitation is, however, here strengthened in many villages by the presence of the pig, dog and poultry who act as scavengers.

In 1966, public health staff consisted of 11 Sanitary Inspectors, 7 Health Assistants and 29 Health Assistants under Small-pox Eradication scheme.

Total expenditure incurred under this section was Rs.90,645.53 in 1965-66.

The town is administered by an organisation called the Chittagong Hill Tracts Bazar Fund. It almost resembles the Municipality of other district and looks after the sanitary, conservancy and water supply matters of the town in accordance with "Chittagong Hill Tracts Bazar Fund Rules, 1937". Urban sanitation.

Regarding conservancy arrangements among public latrines there are 109 sanitary latrines, 208 service latrines and 65 bore-hole latrines. Of the private privies, there are 8 sanitary latrines, 12 service latrines and 191 bore-hole latrines. The total expenditure under public health sector was Rs.83,314 in 1965-66. In 1966, public health staff consisted of one Sanitary Inspector, one Sanitary Supervisor, three Station Collies, one Clinic Nurse under sanitation and 60 Sweepers under conservancy. Expenditure incurred under public health sector during 1965-66 was Rs.83,314.



The Rangamati Govt. College, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

The district of Chittagong Hill Tracts is the home of the Hill tribes, such as, Chakmas, Mughs, Manipuris, Mrungs, Khayangs, Lushais, Kukis, etc., having dialects of their own.

According to the Census Report of 1961, the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts has a population of 3,85,075 spread over an area of 5,007 sq. miles, a greater portion of which comprises hills and forests. The progress of education is very slow due to many reasons. A vast portion of the district is covered by dense forest, not inhabited. The remaining portions of the district are also so far-flung and sparsely populated that it is very difficult to allocate schools strictly on the basis of population alone. Besides, the communication difficulties are almost insuperable. Some of the localities which have been granted primary schools, have little fascination for education as yet, with the result that the roll-strength in these schools and attendance are very thin. On the other hand, most of these are one or two teacher-schools, teaching up to the standard of class II or III.

Introduction.

Due to the Karnafuli Hydro-Electric Project 257 sq. miles of the district have been turned into submerged area, the population of which has mostly been rehabilitated elsewhere in the district. Some of the schools of the submerged area have been closed down and some schools have been shifted to newly populated areas.

The history of education in the district commences with the foundation of a Boarding School at Chandraghona in October, 1862. At this school, elementary education was imparted to the hill boys.

Background.

At a later period, the school was divided into a Burmese class and a Chakma class. In the former, Burmese, English and Bengali were taught and in the latter, English and Bengali only. In 1869, on account of the transfer of the district headquarters, the school was transferred to Rangamati and renamed as Rangamati Government Boarding School. In 1873, the school was given the status of a Middle English School. As a Middle School the Government grant amounted to five thousand rupees a year, the greater portion of which was spent on the maintenance of the boarding establishment. The success of the school prompted the authorities in December, 1890, to raise the status of the school to a High English

Rangamati Govt.
School.

School. The first batch of 22 students included 9 hill boys. The Hostel accommodates fifty hill boys who are boarded at Government expense. Candidates to be admitted as boarders had to be recommended by the Circle Chief and Headmaster and approved by the Superintendent. The annual expenditure of the Rangamati High English School was Rs.5,375 in 1890. Only Rs.979 was received from tuition fee.

Language.

The *Chakmas* speak corrupt Bengali, the *Mughs* and *Arakanese* speak a dialect of *Burmese* language and the *Tipras* speak a language of their own which is akin to *Kachhari*. The remaining type speak *Assamese* and *Burmese* of their own. The outsiders speak Bengali, Urdu and English. Bengali is, however, the official language of the district. Mogi is a dialect of *Arakanese* written in *Burmese* character, while Chakma is a dialect of Bengali written in corrupt *Burmese* character.

Literacy.

The number of literates recorded in 1961 Census is 49,280, out of which 43,733 are males and 5,547 are females, which gives an overall percentage of 12.79 (in terms of total population of the district). Taking the literacy figures by sex, the percentage of literacy among males is 20.60 and among females 3.20. The position of the district in respect of literacy is 24th in Pakistan and 16th in East Pakistan.

Educational level.

The educational level of the literate section of the population is analysed below:—

Grade.	Total.	Males.	Females.
Post-Graduates	48	46	2
Graduates	165	159	6
Under-Graduates	211	200	11
Matriculates	1,469	1,422	47
Primary passed	12,925	12,973	852
Below primary	25,932	22,079	3,853
No formal education	8,530	7,754	776

The figures of persons having professional and technical education are given below:

Education.	Medicine.	Engineering.	Law.	Agriculture.	Commerce.	Other profession.
Persons holding certificates.	136	56	72	...	15	...
Persons holding Diplomas and Professional Degree.	36	22	73	2	6	15

Among the tribes, the *Chakmas* are the most highly educated in the district, while *Mugh*s are mostly educated in *Burmese* language. But it may be noted here that most of highly educated persons of the district are outsiders, who were residents of the district at the time of the Census of 1961.

The types of the present educational institutions in the district during the session 1965-66 together with their numbers are given below:

Type of Institutions.	Number.
Intermediate College	1
High Schools	11
Junior High Schools	9
M. E. Schools	5
Primary Schools	391
Primary Training Institute	1
Weaving School	1
Madrasahs and Maktabas	11
Pali Tols	20
Technical School	1
Typewriting School	1

The Primary and Secondary education of this district is controlled by the Education Office of this district, consisting of a District Education Officer, a District Inspector of Schools and four Thana Education Officers, one for Southern Circle, one for the Northern Circle, one for Dighinala Circle and one for the Bandarban Circle, and 2 Assistant. Sub-Inspectors of Schools, one for Ramgarh P. S. and the other for Barkal P. S. The College education is directly controlled by the Director of Public Instruction, East Pakistan. The Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Comilla, is the Examining Body for S. S. C. and H. S. C. Examinations.

In the year 1947-48, the number of primary schools in the district was only 144, which rose to 261 by June, 1960. According to the ground survey, conducted by the Education Department in the year 1958, the roll-strength of these 261 primary schools was 12,178 and the strength of the teaching staff was 350 including 8 trained Matric and I. A., 81 trained non-Matric and 261 untrained teachers.

The Census Report of 1961 also gives the number of primary schools as 261 at the time of the Census, but this figure includes Maktabas and all other types of Schools imparting Primary Education. A Special Committee, called the Development Committee, formed in the year 1960-61, to find out the

educational needs of the district with the Commissioner of Chittagong Division as its Chairman, reported that the number of regular primary schools at that time was 222 only. The Committee reported that apart from 222 primary schools that existed in the district, 724 more primary schools were required.

According to the recommendations of the said committee, 169 new primary schools have been set up in the district by now, bringing the total number of primary school to 391 in June, 1966, against 344 in the year 1964-65 and 222 in the year 1960-61. Of 391 schools, 3 are meant for girls only.

The number of children reading in these schools was 36,339 in 1965-66 against 32,189 in the year 1964-65 and 12,178 in the year 1959-60. Of 36,339 children, a little over 12,000 are girls.

The teaching staff of these schools consisted of 482 teachers in June, 1966, including 128 trained teachers against 487 teachers in 1964-65 and 350 in 1959-60. Of the total number of 482 teachers, 93 are Muslims, 63 are Hindus and the remaining belong to local tribes.

It may not be irrelevant to record here that the primary teachers of this district were getting lesser pay than the teachers of other districts of the province. For example, a trained Matriculate primary teacher of this district was placed in the pay scale of Rs.60—1—80 against Rs.80—1—110 which was the pay scale of the primary teachers of the same category in other districts of the province.

The pay scale of the primary teachers of the district of all categories (till April, 1970) are given below:

A. Head Teachers:	scales.
(1) Matriculate (Trained or equivalent) ...	Rs. 60—1—80 <i>plus</i> charge allowance of Rs.10.
(2) Matriculate (Untrained) ...	Rs. 50—1—75 <i>plus</i> charge allowance of Rs.10.
(3) Non-Matriculate (Trained) ...	Rs. 45—1—70 <i>plus</i> charge allowance of Rs.10.
(4) Non-Matriculate (Untrained) ...	Rs. 35 (fixed) <i>plus</i> charge allowance Rs.10.
B. Assistant Teachers:	
(1) Matriculate (Trained or equivalent) ...	Rs. 60—1—80.
(2) Matriculate (Untrained) ...	Rs. 50—1—75.
(3) Non-Matriculate (Trained) ...	Rs. 45—1—70.
(4) Non-Matriculate (Untrained) ...	Rs. 35 (fixed).

During the year 1965-66, fourteen residential scholarships including 3 special scholarships for girls of the value of Rs.20 each per month, for three years, were awarded to 14 candidates in order of merit, on the results of Primary Scholarship Examination held in December, 1965. Fourteen non-residential scholarships including 2 special scholarships for girls of the value of Rs.5 per month for three years were also awarded to 14 candidates. In addition to these scholarships, each of the scholars whose parents' yearly income was less than Rs.1,000 was granted a lump stipend of Rs.50 per annum.

The total expenditure for the year 1965-66, stood at Rs.19,99,037 of which Rs.16,92,673 came from the Provincial Revenues, as against Rs.16,22,825 and Rs.12,63,397 respectively in the year 1964-65 and 1963-64. It may be interesting to note here that according to the report of Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Committee, the expenditure incurred on this head had been only Rs.79,000 uniformly from 1947-1961.

The development work done in this district till June, 1966 is shown below stage-wise:

- (i) 33 Primary Schools developed with the Government grant of Rs.15,000 each, total being Rs.4,95,000.
- (ii) 1 Primary School developed with the Government grant of Rs.23,000.
- (iii) 188 Primary Schools developed with the Government grant of Rs.5,000 each, total being Rs.9,40,000.
- (iv) 169 Primary Schools developed with the Government grant of Rs.10,000 each, total being Rs.16,90,000.

With the introduction of the Free Primary Education Scheme in the district, Government had decided to provide decent houses to the primary schools and Rs.10,00,000 had been spent for the purpose during the year 1965-66.

As noted in the introduction of this chapter, the first school was established in the district in the year 1862 and was called the Boarding School. This school was given the status of a Middle English School in 1873, which should be taken as the year of the introduction of secondary education in the district. This school was again converted into a High School in the year 1890 and was called Rangamati High School. Up to 1947-48 this remained the only High School in the district, but between 1890 and 1947, 10 additional Middle English Schools were set up in the district. In this way in 1947 the district had 11 Secondary Schools in all including a High School. By

Secondary stage.

1958 another High School was added to the list. This new High School was set up at Ramgarh. By 1961, however, the number of High Schools went up to 7 and the number of Middle and Junior High Schools was raised to 14.

In the year 1964-65, the number of High Schools stood at 8, the number of Junior High Schools at 7 including one for girls' and the Middle English Schools at 6 only, bringing the total number of Secondary Schools to 21. In the year 1965-66, the district had 11 High Schools including 1 for girls, 9 Junior High Schools including one for girls and 5 Middle English Schools bringing the total number of Secondary Schools to 25.

Middle English
School and
Junior High
School.

Middle English Schools teach up to class VI and Junior High Schools teach up to class VIII. The total number of M. E. Schools and Junior High Schools stood at 5 and 9 respectively during the year 1965-66 as against 6 and 7 respectively in the year 1964-65. 57 pupils including 8 girls and 575 pupils including 111 girls respectively attended these M. E. and Junior High Schools during the year 1965-66 as against 687 including 259 girls and 2,251 including 741 girls in those schools respectively during the year 1964-65. There were 12 and 48 teachers on the staff respectively in these schools during the year 1965-66 as against 24 and 33 in the year 1964-65. Out of these teachers 2 and 11 respectively were trained hands as against nil and 4 respectively in the year 1964-65. These teachers were paid from private sources. But due to low scale of pay as well as irregularities in payment, the teachers of these schools have a tendency of seeking better employment elsewhere.

An expenditure of Rs.45,774 and Rs.54,876 respectively incurred as the expenditure of M. E. and Junior High Schools, out of which Rs.8,232 and Rs.16,849 respectively came from Provincial revenues during the year 1965-66 as against Rs.17,116 including Rs.10,320 from Provincial revenues and Rs.54,876 including Rs.27,132 from Provincial revenues respectively during the year 1964-65. Eleven Residential scholarships including one special scholarship for girls and 10 non-residential scholarships of the value of Rs.32 and Rs.12 respectively per month were awarded to the meritorious candidates in order of merit, for 2 years, on the results of the Junior Scholarship Examination held in the month of November, 1965.

High School.

There were 11 High Schools including 1 for girls during the year 1965-66 against 8 only for boys in the year 1964-65. Out of these High Schools, the Rangamati and Bandarban

Government High Schools were under direct management of the Government and the remaining nine were under private management. Two boys' high schools are located in the district headquarters: the Government High School and the Shah High School. The former is the largest school in the district. It has three hostels for tribal boys. A meteorological observatory was established in the school premises in 1957. The other school at Rangamati is the Shah High School named after a former Deputy Commissioner, Mr. M. H. Shah. It has also a hostel for hill boys. The other 9 High Schools of the district are as follows: (1) Bandarban Government High School, (2) Karnafuli Project High School, (3) Ramghar High School, (4) Khagrachari High School, (5) Narangri Pilot High School, (6) Karnafuli Paper Mills High School, (7) Dighinala High School, (8) Kassalong High School and (9) Rangamati Girls' High School. The Karnafuli High School at Kaptai established by EPWAPDA over a decade and a half ago, is a fine institution, having impressive buildings and good equipments. It enjoys an annual grant of Rs.75,000 from EPWAPDA. The school at Chandraghona is maintained by the Paper Mills. Khagrachari High School was built under the Rehabilitation Programme which also includes the setting up of a High School at Marishya Model Town. The Narangiri High School, on the other side of the Chandraghona Paper Mills, was originally a Junior High School, which was upgraded in 1960. Rangamati Girls' High School has been set-up recently bringing the number of High Schools at the district headquarters to three. The roll strength of the Government High Schools was 624 including 186 girl students in the year 1965-66 as against 612 in the year 1964-65. In these 2 Schools, there were 30 members on the staff during the year 1965-66 against 28 members in the year 1964-65. Out of these teachers, 14 were trained hands having B. T. degrees and one trained in Physical Education as against 19 and 1 respectively in the year 1964-65.

The Karnafuli
High School.

Nine privately managed High Schools had 2,811 pupils including 708 girls on the roll in the year 1965-66 as against 2,890 in the year 1964-65. Out of these 9 High Schools, 7 were aided and 2 unaided. Out of these 2 unaided High Schools, one is being managed by the Karnafuli Paper Mills authorities. The former 7 High Schools were receiving regular grant from Government at different rates. There were 113 teachers including 29 trained hands, 12 B. Ts. and 17 others on the staff of the 9 privately managed High Schools in 1965-66.

The 2 Government High Schools had a total expenditure of Rs.1,11,275 during the year 1965-66, whereas an expenditure of Rs.3,62,210 including Rs.2,08,812 from the Provincial revenue was incurred on other 9 privately managed High Schools.

All the Boys' High Schools are co-educational.

Development Work.

The development work completed by June, 1966, under Five Year Plan was as follows in respect of Secondary Education:

- (i) 2 Multilateral High Schools were developed with Government grant of Rs.4,07,000.
- (ii) 1 Pilot High School was developed with Government grant of Rs.79,000.
- (iii) 2 Bilateral High Schools were developed with Government grant of Rs.80,000 each, total being Rs.1,60,000.
- (iv) 4 Junior High Schools were developed with Government grant of Rs.10,000 each, total being Rs.40,000.

The grand total of the expenditure incurred on the development for Secondary Education came up to Rs.6,86,000.

Rangamati College.

Rangamati College is the only College in the district. The College was established in July, 1965, at the district headquarters. There were 6 teachers for Arts subjects, 4 for Science subjects and 2 for Commerce subjects. Including the Principal and a Demonstrator for the Science Section, the staff, thus, consisted of 14 members in all. The subjects taught in the college are English, Bengali, Economics, Civics, History, Islamic History and Culture, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology and Commerce. In the session 1966-67, there were 191 students in the College, 53 in Class XI (Arts), 21 in Class XII (Arts), 30 in Class XI (Science), 27 in Class XII (Science), 30 in Class XI (Commerce) and 30 in Class XII (Commerce). There were 21 girl students in the College, 12 in the Arts Group, 8 in the Science Group and one in the Commerce Group. The college was provincialised on the first of May, 1970. Besides Intermediate Arts, Science and Commerce courses, it has Degree Course in Arts only.

Vocational and Technical Education: Carpentry and Weaving.

Besides the carpentry class attached to Rangamati Government High School, there were in the year 1965-66, four carpentry and weaving centres in this district. These technical centres enrolled 85 students including 8 girls. Trainees were instructed by qualified instructors specially trained in the subjects. But it should be noted that one year earlier, that is, in 1964-65 there were 19 weaving and carpentry schools with an enrolment of 228 pupils including 87 girls. The decrease in the number

of trainees is due to closing down of several technical centres by the Rehabilitation Department. All the expenditure of these institutions was borne by the Provincial revenues and the total expenditure incurred during the year 1965-66 amounted to Rs.23,760 against Rs.32,732 during the year 1964-65.

The Swedish Pakistan Institute of Technology at Kaptai is one of the finest institutions of its type in the province, imparting training in a wide variety of crafts and technical subjects. The Institute has four main branches of technology, offering a two-year certificate course and a three-year diploma course in automobile, electrical, mechanical (including welding and sheet metal) and wood working. Each technological division takes 8 to 24 trainees on roll every year from among those having at least S.S.C. Certificates. Trainees completing their Certificate Course are enrolled in the 3rd year of the Diploma Course, provided they obtain standard mark at the final examination. The Institute has expert Pakistani and Swedish staff. The Swedish Government has so far provided machinery and equipment worth Rs.1.5 million and Rs.6 million as part of building cost. The remaining cost has been borne by the Government of Pakistan.

Pak-Swedish
Institute of
Technology.

There is a type-writing training centre with a specified number of 30 stipendiary seats only, specially meant for the primary school teachers of Chittagong Hill Tracts. This centre is attached to the Rangamati Government High School and is run under the direct supervision of the Headmaster. Trainees are generally selected by the District Inspector of Schools of Chittagong Hill Tracts on the basis of the admission test. Trainees are awarded stipends of Rs.27 each per month. During the year 1965-66, the total number of trainees stood at 29 including 10 girls, against 30 and 6 respectively in 1964-65. The total cost incurred during the year 1965-66 amounted to Rs.12,234 as against Rs.11,916 in the year 1964-65. The school is not a residential one.

Type-writing.

There is no institution in the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts specially meant for the Muslim Education stage except 11 Forqania Madrasahs. These Madrasahs had 327 children including 126 girls and 11 teachers in the year 1965-66.

Forqania
Madrasah and
Muslim
Education.

Muslim boys and girls were receiving general education in general schools along with other boys and girls of the Hill Tracts. During the year 1965-66, the total number of Muslim pupils receiving their general education at different stages of secondary and primary education stood at 6,069, including 2,300 girls as against 4,303, including 1,951 girls in the year 1964-65.

Pali Tols.

There are, in all, 20 Pali Tols in the district with one teacher in each. The number of children reading in these tols was 461 including 87 girls in the year 1965-66.

Teachers Training.

There is only one Primary Training centre attached to Rangamati Government High School, for the training of Primary school teachers with thirty stipendiary seats. The value of stipends is Rs.30 per head per month. The centre is run by one whole-time vernacular teacher and two part-time teachers from Rangamati Government High School.

Physical Education.

The post of District Organiser of Physical Education has not been created for this district. The District Organiser of Physical Education, Chittagong, has been put in-charge of this district as well. 4 out of 11 high schools in the district have Physical Instructors and 6 of them have their own playgrounds. There is no regular arrangement for Physical Education in other Primary and Secondary Schools. There is a District Sports Association which organises various games, namely, foot-ball, volley-ball, badminton and tennis. Students of different schools participate in various tournaments outside the district and also at a sports meet annually at Rangamati. Besides the above, there is a District Inter-School Sports Association which organises various games.

Agricultural Education.

Most of the people of the district being agriculturists, introduction of Agricultural Education was felt necessary. The scheme was introduced in Narangiri Pilot High School. 13 students appeared at the S.S.C. Examination of the Board in 1966 of which 6 came out successful.

Introduction of Religious Education for Muslims in Missionary Schools.

There were 2 missionary Junior High Schools, and both received Rs.2,160 for introduction of Islamic Education during the year 1965-66.

Libraries.

There are 3 Government aided public libraries in the district situated at Rangamati, Ramgarh and Bandarban. Of these, the Rangamati Public Library, which was established in the year 1953, is the biggest. This library consists of about 600 books and also has a reading room where a good number of newspapers and periodicals are available. Attached to this library, is an Information Centre, which was established in 1965 by the Bureau of National Reconstruction. The library has, so far, received Rs.7,000 from the Provincial revenues under the scheme "Improvement of District Library". Two other libraries of the district received Rs.6,300 under the Scheme "Establishment of Mobile Libraries".

There is also a library at Chandraghona, maintained by the authorities of the Paper Mills and a reading room attached to Mission Hospital, Chandraghona.

There is a small Museum attached to the District Council Rest House at Rangamati. This Museum consists of antiquities of ancient tribal people. **Museum.**

Seven High Schools of the district have Boy Scouts and 2 have Girl Guides. Of these, Rangamati High School has 55 Scouts. The number of Girl Guides are 30 at the district headquarters. The Girl Guides' training has been introduced recently with its office at Rangamati High School. **Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.**

APPENDIX*

Chronology of the Growth of Education in Chittagong Hill Tracts (1860—1970).

The Chittagong Hill Tracts separated from Chittagong and made a District in 1860.	1860.
The Rangamati Government High School established in 1891 and recognised in 1893.	1891.
Dighinala High School, P.O. and P.S. Dighinala, under Ramgarh Subdivision started in 1931 and recognised as high school in 1965.	1931.
The establishment of a Special Education Board for improvement in the system of education in the Chittagong Hill Tracts sanctioned with effect from April, 1, 1938; local educational control in the Chittagong Hill Tracts transferred from the Inspector of Schools, Chittagong Division, to an Education Board; a Superintendent of Education for the Chittagong Hill Tracts appointed.	1938.
Ramgarh Government High School, P.O. and P.S. Ramgarh, established in 1951 and recognised in 1952.	1951.
Karnafuli Project High School under Rangamati Subdivision established in 1953 and got recognition in 1954.	1953.
Rangamati Shah High School established in 1957 and recognised in 1958.	1957.
Naringiri High School under Rangamati Subdivision established in 1958 and received recognition in 1959.	1958.
Khagrachhari High School, P.O. Khagrachhari, P.S. Mahalchhari under Ramgarh Subdivision established and recognised in 1958.	
Poapara High School under Rangamati Subdivision started in 1962 and recognised as high school in 1968.	1962.
Bandarban Government High School, first provincialised in 1962 as Junior High School and then from 1-1-1965 as High School.	
Karnafuli Paper Mills High School under Rangamati Subdivision established in 1963 and got recognition in 1964.	1963.

*Prepared by Professor Md. Ishaq, General Editor.

1965.

Rangamati College first started as a private Intermediate College in July, 1965. It was provincialised on the 1st of May, 1970.

1966.

Kassalong High School under Rangamati Subdivision established in 1966 and recognised in 1967.

Rangamati Girls' High School established in 1966 and recognised in 1967.

1967.

Pauchhari High School, P.O. Pauchhari, P.S. Mahalchhari, under Ramgarh Subdivision established in 1967 and recognised in 1968.*

*Reference — "List of High School (1970)" and "Chronology of the growth of Education (1966)" published by the Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics, Education Directorate.



A Prayer place of the Murang tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER XI. *

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts are inhabited by a variety of tribes, viz., the Chakma, the Mugh, the Tipra, the Lushai, the Kuki, etc., each speaking its own distinct language or dialect. Of the different tribes the Chakmas speak a form of corrupt Bengali; the Mugh, Arakanese, a dialect of Burmese; Tipras, a language of their own which is akin to Kachari. The rest of the tribes speak different Assam-Burma tongues of their own. In this district, though a large section of the population speaks languages other than Bengali as their mother tongue, yet Bengali was the mother tongue of the majority, the percentage being about 53, according to the 1951 Census. According to the Census of 1961, the population of the Chittagong Hill Tracts by mother tongue was as follows:

Language.	Population.	Population by mother tongues
Bengali	3,50,654	
Assam-Burma tongues (under Tibet-Chinese family).	32,909	
Assamese	31	
Urdu	1,350	
Pushtu	87	
Panjabi	35	
Hindi	8	
Baluchi	5	

Of these Urdu, Pushtu, Panjabi, Hindi and Baluchi languages are spoken by the people who were outsiders residing there temporarily in connection with their work and were found at the time of the Census operations.

According to the Census of 1961 the number of persons who commonly spoke one or more of the main languages is shown below. This includes both the persons who claimed the language as their mother tongue and those who reported it as an additional language commonly spoken. Since many people could speak more than one language the totals would not agree with the total population:

Language.	Population.
Bengali	3,60,185
Assam-Burma	32,909
Urdu	8,036
English	3,433
Arabic	167
Pushtu	138

Language.	Population.
Sindhi	113
Persian	91
Burmese	89
Panjabi	73

Education and official language.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts were very backward in respect of education in the past. Education has, however, spreaded among the Chakmas, the Mughs and the Tipras at present. Of them, the Chakmas are the most advanced. The Mughs are mostly educated in Burmese language. Besides English, Bengali is also the official language of the district.

Number of literates.

The number of literates recorded in 1961 Census is 49,280 out of which 43,733 are males and 5,547 are females, which gives of an overall percentage of 12.79 (in terms of total population of the district). Taking the literacy figures by sex, the percentage of literacy among males is 20.60 and females, 3.20.

Language by literacy.

The following table will show the language by literacy in 1951 and 1961. Number of persons able to read and write is shown in ordinary type; those able to read with understanding but not able to write are in italics. Definition of literacy for 1951 census was "able to read in clear print" and it included persons able to read the Holy Quran only and that possibly without understanding. In 1961 Census the definition was "able to read with understanding."

Language.	1961.	1951.
Bengali	43,570 <i>4,161</i>	16,214 <i>10,558</i>
Panjabi	21 <i>1</i>	1 <i>×</i>
Pushtu	39 <i>3</i>	6 <i>1</i>
Sindhi	24 <i>×</i>	<i>×</i>
Urdu	1,257 <i>317</i>	65 <i>65</i>
Baluchi	3 <i>×</i>	<i>×</i>
Persian	99 <i>2</i>	81 <i>106</i>
Arabic	544 <i>9</i>	74 <i>31</i>
English	4,753 <i>28</i>	2,754 <i>2,105</i>

An account of the main languages spoken by the different tribes is given below:

The Chakmas speak a corrupt form of the Bengali language written in Burmese character. Little is known about the ancient Chakma language. But it is presumed that the ancient writing of the Chakma tribe was quite near to that of the Burmese. In Rangamati a few bamboo cylinders engraved with this ancient character were found. About Chakma writing Capt. T. H. Lewin remarks, "the form of the letter shows that they are merely a rude adaptation of the Aracanese alphabet".* Lucein Burnot says, "It is most probable that the Chakma spoke a language not belonging to the Indo-European family before they settled themselves where they are now living. The Chakma group appears to be an example of Mongoloid group giving up its own language to the benefit of the Indo-European".** About the Chakma language G.A. Grierson says, "In the central portion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in the Chief's Circle, situated in the country round the Karnafully River, a broken dialect of Bengali, peculiar to the locality, and of a very curious character, is spoken. It is called Chakma, and is based on South-Eastern Bengali, but has undergone so much transformation that it is almost worth of the dignity of being classed as a separate language."*** However, "the language of the Chakma tribe is neither pure Bengali nor Aracanese. This may be called as the Chakma-Bengali". (Bengal Code of Census Procedure, *vide* Appendix VII, Part A).

Language of the
Chakmas.

It has already been mentioned that the Chakma language, though a broken form of Bengali, is written in Burmese character. In this connection G. A. Grierson writes, "It is written in an alphabet which allowing for its cursive form, is almost identical with the Khm̄r character, which was formerly in use in Cambodia, Laos, Amman, Siam, and at least, the southern part of Burma. The Khm̄r alphabet is in its turn, the same as that which was current in the south of India in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Burmese character is derived from it, but is much more corrupted than the Chakma. The resemblance between the Chakma and Khm̄r does not, however, extend to the typical peculiarity of the form that the inherent vowel of the consonant is \bar{a} and not a , though even in this there are noteworthy points of resemblance. The Khm̄r sign

Chakma
alphabet.

*The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein, Calcutta, 1869, p. 66.

***"Ethnic Group of Chittagong Hill Tracts"—an article included in the book "Social Research, East Pakistan" edited by Pierre Bessaingnet.

***Linguistic survey of India, Vol. V.

for ja has not the hook on the right hand side possessed by the Chakma *jā*. This hook represents the *ā*. Similarly, the hooks on the side of the Chakma *ta*, *tha* and *rā*, are all relics for the old sign for *ā*."

The Chakma alphabet is as follows:

ka	khā	pa	ghā	nā
chā (sā)	chhā	ja	jhā	hā
ṣa	ṣhā	ḍa	ḍhā	ṇā
tā	thā	dā	dhā	mā
ṣā	phā	bā	bhā	mā
ṣā	mā	lā	lā	shā
hā	hlā	ā.		

The most important point to notice in this alphabet is that the vowel inherent in each consonant is, not *a* as in other Indian languages, but *ā*. Note also that the initial form (there is, of course, no non-initial form) of *ā* is treated as a consonant, much as the letter *alif* is treated as a consonant in Arabic.

As regards vowels, except *ā*, none of them have any proper initial forms. The following are their non-initial forms.

Chakma forms.	Burmese forms.	
Over the consonant	None.	a
No sign	o or 7	a
Over the consonant	o	i
Ditto	o	i
Under the consonant	l	e
Ditto	l	e
Before the consonant	c	i
Over the consonant		(ai pr. ai)
On each side of the consonant	co	i
Ditto	co	ai

✓ When a consonant has no vowel the sign \sim is put over the consonant, equivalent to the Burmese က and the Bengali ক . Thus, Chakma က , Burmese က , and Bengali ক all represent the letter k , without any vowel.

We thus get the following examples of the way in which non-initial vowels are attached to the letter က ka :—

က ka , က ka , က ki , က ki , က ku , က ku , က ke , က ka , က ka ,
 က ka ka .

When these vowels commence a word, the non-initial forms are attached to the letter က a as a kind of scaffolding for the support of the sound, exactly as $alif$ is used in Arabic. We thus obtain the following forms :—

က ka , က ka , က ki , က ki , က ku , က ku ,
 က ka , က ka , က ka , က ka .

Note, however, that the initial form of a is က , not က .

Sometimes vowels take special forms when initial. Thus we have for initial a in

က ka , က ka , rejoicing, instead of က ka . For initial i , we sometimes have

က ka in က ka , I, instead of က ka . Sometimes the form က is used,

attached to a preceding consonant, as in က ka ka , much. In the latter case

က may be omitted, as in က ka for က ka , having gone. Simi-

larly က ka stands for ka , not ka .

The sign က is also used to denote the doubling of a letter as in က ka ka .

က ka , from in the field; က ka , rejoicing.

When the letter က ka is compounded with a consonant, it takes the form က

as in က ka , anyone. In similar circumstances, က ka , takes the form က

in က ka , a minister. Other compound consonants present no difficulties.

The letter ka is often pronounced as ka , and when this is the case, it is so transliterated. Thus က ka , ka , not ka .

It is not necessary to give a detailed account of Chakma Grammar, which closely resembles that of Chittagong. The following remarks will suffice:

Cerebral letters are regularly converted to dentals. Numerous examples will be found in the specimens. We may quote, *dāki* for *dāki*, having called; *thēn* for *thēn*, a leg; *anūdi* for *aṅguthi*, a ring; *ghadaki*, a match-maker, for *ghajaki*; and so on.

The Verb substantive is conjugated as follows:

Present.		Past.	
Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
1. āgi, I am.	we are	ēlūn, I was,	ēlañ, we were.
2. āgas, or nē,	thou art, you are	ēlē, thou wast	ēlā, you were.
3. āgē, or nē	he is, they are	ēl, he was	ēlak, they were.

The conjugation of the Finite Verb closely resembles that of Chittagong. The principal exception is that the first person ends in *ūn* or *añ*.

The conjunctive Participle ends in *inai*, as in *jēnai*, having gone.*

Chakma language appears to be complicated due to the abridgement of the verb as is found in the dialects of the Chittagong District. For example—

Bengali—*Ami Jai* (I go). Chakma *Mui Jāṅ*

Bengali—*Ami Giechhilam* (I went). Chakma—*Mui Jēṅ*.

In Chakma language peculiar intonation is also common in pronunciation among some of the clans of the Chakma tribe as we find in the pronunciation in the sadar area of Mymensingh district.

In Chakma language *mui* and *tui* are used in the first and second person singular number respectively in ordinary sense. *Ami* and *tumi* are used in the plural number to convey the sense of respect.

Like Bengali, Chakma language is also influenced by the Arabic and Persian languages and some Arabic and Persian words are in common use among the Chakma people, e.g. *Salam* (salute), *Huzur* (sir), *Hagim* (judge) *Farzadi* (Persian, *Fariadi*—complainant), etc.

*Quoted from "Linguistic Survey of India" Vol. V, Part I by Dr. G. A. Grierson.

Here is a specimen given from the parable of a prodigal son as quoted by Dr. G.A. Grierson in his book mentioned before:

				Specimen of Chakma language
Ék	Jana-tūn	diba	pwa	él.
<i>One</i>	<i>man-from</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>sons</i>	<i>were.</i>
Chikan	Pwáwai	tá	bába-ré	kala,
<i>The younger</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>father-to</i>	<i>said,</i>
bábá,	shampatti	mar	bhágé	jé
<i>Father,</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>in-share</i>	<i>which</i>
paré,	ma-ré	dé;	Tár	bábé
<i>falls</i>	<i>me-to</i>	<i>give;</i>	<i>His</i>	<i>father</i>
tár	jé él	bhág	dila.	Bés
<i>his</i>	<i>what was</i>	<i>share</i>	<i>gave.</i>	<i>Many</i>
din	na	gél,	té	tá
<i>days</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>went,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>his</i>
bhágat	jé	péyé	abákkáni	égattar
<i>in-share</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>he-got</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>together</i>
gari,	dūr	ék	dēshat	gēt
<i>having-made</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>in-country</i>	<i>went.</i>
Shidū	jéinal	lūchchwámi	kari	abákkáni
<i>There</i>	<i>having-gone</i>	<i>debauchery</i>	<i>doing</i>	<i>all</i>
hárela.	Té	abákkáni	hárenai,	shé
<i>he-lost.</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>having-lost</i>	<i>that</i>
dēshat	bár-dānar	bhādarai	hal.	Tá
<i>country-in</i>	<i>very-great</i>	<i>famine</i>	<i>become.</i>	<i>He</i>
Shélaakké	Tár	kichchū	nér-dēyán,	manat
<i>then</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>anything</i>	<i>not-remaining</i>	<i>in-mind</i>
tūlla.	Té	shidūgár	ék-jan	bar-mánshyár
<i>felt.</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>of-that-place</i>	<i>one-person</i>	<i>big-man-of</i>
kai	gél.	Té	taré	shūgar
<i>near</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>swine</i>
charéda	tár	bhūyat	dipá-déla.	Té
<i>to-feed</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>field-in</i>	<i>sent.</i>	<i>He</i>
shūgara-ádhár	tūs	pélé	ya	
<i>swine-food</i>	<i>husks</i>	<i>having-got</i>	<i>even</i>	

ùchchwá-gari	pét	bhari	khēda,	phaléshat	
<i>happiness-making</i>	<i>belly</i>	<i>having-filled</i>	<i>would-eat</i>	<i>but</i>	
kyā	tārē	na	dilák.	Pichē	
<i>anyone</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>gave.</i>	<i>Afterwards</i>	
tē	būjhila;	manē	manē	tārētē	
he	<i>understood;</i>	<i>in-mind</i>	<i>in-mind</i>	<i>himself-to</i>	
kala, 'mar	bábar	kala	ménádári	chágárar	
<i>said</i> 'my	<i>father's</i>	<i>how-many</i>	<i>salaried</i>	<i>servants</i>	
béida	khēbar	mānshya-rē	dibár	agē;	
<i>much</i>	<i>of-eating</i>	<i>(other)-men-to</i>	<i>of-giving</i>	<i>is</i>	
mūi	pēt-parai	maranar.	Mūi	ittūn	
<i>I</i>	<i>hunger</i>	<i>am-dying.</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>here-from</i>	
ma	bába	idū	jēm.	Jēinai	
<i>my</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>will-go.</i>	<i>Having-gone</i>	
tá-rē	kam,	"bába,	mui	Isshara	
<i>him-to</i>	<i>I-will-say</i>	<i>"Father,</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>God</i>	
kai-ya	dūsgarjyān	ta	kai-ya	dūsgarjyān;	
<i>near-also</i>	<i>sinner-am</i>	<i>thee</i>	<i>near-also</i>	<i>sinner-am;</i>	
mui	tar	pwa	habár	lák	
<i>I</i>	<i>thy</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>of-betw.</i>	<i>worthy</i>	
nay.	Marē	ménádari	chágár	rágá".	
<i>am-not.</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>salaried</i>	<i>servant</i>	<i>keep".</i>	
Tē	tár	bába	shidū	el.	
<i>He</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>came.</i>	
Tē	béida	dūrat	tháktē tār	bábē	
<i>He</i>	<i>great</i>	<i>distance-in</i>	<i>remaining his</i>	<i>father</i>	
tārē	délu;	tár	dayā	hal;	dhaba
<i>him</i>	<i>saw"</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>compassion</i>	<i>became"</i>	<i>running</i>
Jēinai	tár	pwár	tadát	béréi	dhari
<i>having-going</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>son's</i>	<i>neck-on</i>	<i>round</i>	<i>seizing</i>
chūmíla.	Tár	pwá	tá-rē	kala,	"bába,
<i>he-kissed.</i>	<i>His</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>him-to</i>	<i>said,</i>	<i>"Father.</i>
mūi	Isshara	kai-ya	dūsgarjyān	ta	kai-ya
<i>I</i>	<i>God</i>	<i>near-also</i>	<i>sinner-am</i>	<i>thee</i>	<i>near-also</i>

dūsgarjyán.	Mùl	tar	pwá	habār	
sinner-am	I	thy	son	of-being	
lák	nay'.	Tár	báb	tár	chágar-shagal-ke
worthy	am-not'.	His	father	his	servants-all-to.
kala,	kùp-gamat-tán	kábar	ân	táré	pinēi
said,	very-good-in from.	robe	bring	him	having-clothed.
	tár	hádat	ékkwá	ânūdi	pinēi
give:	his	hand-on	a	ring	having-Put-on
dē,	tár	thēnat	jadá	pinēi	dé;
give,	his	feet-on	shoes	having-put-on	give;
hēbē,	ējha,	āmi	khēi	dēi	
now,	come	(let)-us	having-eaten	et-cetera	
ùchchwá	gari.	Kyájadē	mar	éi	pwá
merriment	make.	Because	my	this	son
mar-jyé,	ábár	báchchyé;	táré	háreyang.	
having-died-went,	again	survived;	him	I-lost,	
ábár	pélùn,'	Tará	ùchchwá-gará		lágilák.
again	I-found,'	They	merriment-making		began.

	Shyákkē	tár	dánár	pwá	tár
	At-that-time	his	great	son	his
bhūyat	ēl	Tē	bhūyat-tùn	ghara	kai
field-in	was.	He	field-in-from	house	near
elnat	nách	git	shūnna.	Tē	ēk-jan
having-come	dancing	singing	heard.	He	one-person
chágar	dáki	pūjár	galla,	'yáni	ki'?
servant	having-called	asking	made,	'There	what'?
Chágar	táré	kala,	'tar	bhēi	esshyc;
Servant	him-to	said,	'thy	brother	has-come;
tar	báb	ēk	kháná	dyē,	kyájadē
thy	father	a	feast	gave,	because
tē	táré	arámé	gamari	pēyē'?	Tē
he	him	in-health	in-goodness	got'?	He

rág	jalil;	ghara	bhidarē	na	gēl
(in)-anger	burnt;	house	inside-in	not	went.
Shiyájadē	tár	báb	ghara	bhidarat-tún	
For-that reason	his	father	house	inside-in-from	
nigili	él.	Tá-rē	bùjēi	kala.	Tē
having-emerged	came.	Him-to	entreaty	made.	He
tár	bába-rē	kala,	'bábá,	mùl	tar
his	father-to	said,	'Father.	I	thy
chágari	bhalúk-bajar-sang garānar,		tar	húkuma	
service	many-years-during am-doing,		thy	command	
bárá	kichchù	na	garang;	ta	tùl
outside	anything	not	I-do;	yet	thou
ékkwá	shágai-cha	ma-rē	na	dyas.	mar
a-single	goats'-young-one	me-to	not	gavest,	my
shang-shamárjyá		lai	khùshi	garang.	Tar
friends		having-taken	joy	I-may-make.	Thy
el	pwá,	jē	tar	shampatti	
this	son,	who	thy	property	
lùchchwāmi kari		uréyē,	jē	tē	el,
debauchery having-done		squandered,	when	he	came,
tár	jadē	tùl	ék	kháná	dili'.
him-of	for-the-sake	thou	a	feast	gavest.
Tár	báb	tá-rē	kala,	'put,	tùl
His	father	him-to	said,	'son,	thou
lágár	ma-shamárē	ágas.	Mar	jē	ágē,
always	me-with	art.	Mine	whart	is,
abánáni	tar.	Tar	bhēiyarē	lágai	pēyēy
all	thine (is.)	Thy	brother	nearness-in.	we-got
shiyájadē	ami	khùshi	garir,	kyálāgi	tar
for-that-reason	we	merriment	are-making,	because	thy
el	bhēi	mar-jyē	ábár	báchchye;	
this	brother	having-died-went	again	survived;	
háreyēy,	ábár	pēyēy'.			
I.-lost,	again	I-found (him)'.			

The Chakmas have got no worthmentioning modern literature. But they are rich in respect of folk-literature.

Chakma
literature.

Shibcharan was the most popular folk poet among the Chakmas. He composed "Gozenlama" (in praise of God) in seven parts. "Gozenlama" is sung by the 'Genkumi' at the time of 'Mohamuni Mela' and in other religious festivals.

Shibcharan.

In 'Gozenlama' the praise of God begins like this:

<i>Ujani</i>	<i>chhara</i>	<i>lamani</i>	<i>dhar</i>
<i>No</i>	<i>achhil</i>	<i>sristi</i>	<i>Jalatkar</i>
<i>Jal</i>	<i>upare</i>	<i>garje</i>	<i>sthal</i>
<i>Banel</i>	<i>Gozene</i>	<i>Jib</i>	<i>Sakal</i>
<i>Areya</i>	<i>baneye</i>	<i>jar</i>	<i>janam</i>
<i>Age</i>	<i>salam</i>	<i>dang</i>	<i>tar charan</i>
<i>Chane</i>	<i>surje</i>	<i>sador</i>	<i>bhei</i>
<i>Salam</i>	<i>dang</i>	<i>uddise</i>	<i>bhumit thei</i>

The Chakmas have got many popular legends. Their main legend is about 'Radhamon' and 'Dhanpati'. The legend speaks the glory of their ancestors, their valour and ideals and is sung during the festivals and ceremonial occasions. The legend is quoted below:

"In the days when the Chakma tribe lived in the valley of the Matamuri river, there resided in one of the villages four young men named Saradhon, Nilakdhan, Kunjadhan and Radhamon, and also a most beautiful girl called Dhanpati and her three fair companions, Sarabi, Nilabi and Kunjabi. The girl Dhanpati was a general favourite in the village, and there was great rivalry amongst the four friends who sought to win her favour.

The story of
Radhamon and
Dhanpati.

One day when the young girls were amusing themselves in the Youngsa stream, they perceived some Bengalees of the plains coming along weeping and uttering lamentations. Dhanpati and her friends hastened back to the village, and meeting Saradhan, she entreated him to go and enquire the cause of the Bengalees' sorrow. This Saradhan at once proceeded to do. They told him that they had been cutting bamboos a day's journey up-stream, and that while at work a most delicious scent had been wafted to them by the breeze. Moved with curiosity they tried to trace the marvellous fragrance to its source, but after a fruitless search all but three gave up the endeavour. The three, however, continued, and at last on a hill they espied a tree with silver branches laden with golden blossoms, from which emanated the delicate perfume. The three Bengalees hastened to possess themselves of some

of the blossoms, when suddenly a huge black tiger with a white star on its forehead dashed out upon them, killing two of them. The third escaped with difficulty and returned to the party, which then fled together. The men, they said, who had been slain were their near relations, and hence their sorrow. Saradhan returned and acquainted Dhanpati with the story, but he discredited the tale of the golden flowers, as he was intimately acquainted with the whole neighbourhood and had never seen or heard of the existence of such a tree. The news had a strange effect on Dhanpati, who was seized with an intense craving to possess a branch of the tree with its golden blossoms. She fretted in secret, and wasted slowly away with the intensity of her desire. The physicians were called in, but their treatment had not the slightest effect on the mysterious disease from which the poor girl suffered. Her girl friends became alarmed at her condition and besought her to confine in them, and finally she told them of her wild desire and said she would die if it was not gratified. The girls went and told Dhanpati's parents, who were greatly grieved and tried to dissuade their daughter from the idea, but all to no effect, and finally in desperation they proclaimed that anyone who could secure a branch with flowers from the enchanted tree should marry Dhanpati. At the time most of the youths were absent from the village, having gone to attend the Chief's court, where the annual display of archery, sword-play and athletics was taking place. The youth Saradhan, however, was in the village, and congratulating himself on the absence of his rivals, immediately started off confident in his powers of being able to secure the flowers and win the coveted prize. Armed with a sword he started on his quest and reached the bamboo-cutter's shed, and was searching for the tree when he was surprised and slain by the black tiger. In the meantime the other youths, with the exception of Radhamon, who had been detained by the Chief, returned to their village. Nilakdhon at once determined to attempt to win Dhanpati as his bride and started in quest of the golden flowers, but he also fell a prey to the black tiger. The news of these disasters reached Radhamon, who obtained permission from the Chief to return to his village. On his arrival he at once announced his intention of fetching the golden flowers, but the parents of Dhanpati besought him not to attempt the venture: but Radhamon refused to listen to reason. Armed with his trusted sword and a spear Radhamon quietly left the village, but he was no foolhardy person and determined to proceed with the greatest caution. So when he reached the bamboo cutter's hut he quietly slept there, and the next

morning he cautiously approached the spot by a circuitous route. Arrived in the neighbourhood he climbed a tree and perceived the enchanted tree with the black tiger asleep at the bottom. Radhamon then quietly got down from the tree and returned to his village to concoct a scheme for further action. He went and saw Dhanpati assured her that he would most certainly secure her the flowers, and after receiving her parent's blessing he removed himself to the court of the Chief, with whom was a very great favourite. They consulted together and the Chief caused a suit to be manufactured for Radhamon from the hide of the rhinoceros, and also a shield from the same material. Radhamon now determined to make the attempt to secure the flowers and went to the bamboo-cutter's shed. Here he performed a puja to the spirit of the forest as also to Mathiya, the goddess who guards against the attacks of tigers. He then laid himself down to rest for the night. He dreamt that a woman of extraordinary beauty came and sat by his side and said: "I am Mothiya, and am pleased to accept your puja. I now endow thee with all my strength; the tree you seek is an enchanted one that has been placed there by the King of the Genii to test your strength; remember that you must on no account pluck the first flower with your hand; it must be taken by the means of a string made from the hair of the maiden Dhanpati, who must accompany you to the tree. You will find a squirrel to whom you will give the string, and he will tie it to a flower and give the end to Dhanpati, who will then pluck the first flower, after which you can gather them freely. You will slay the tiger by the strength I have given you; skin him, and then cut off some flesh from each limb. Then take five flowers from the tree, light a fire and throw the flesh and flowers into it. The tree and tiger-remains will vanish and you will find Saradhon, Nilakdhon and the two Bengalees standing by your side". The lovely vision then disappeared. In the morning Radhamon returned to his village and told Dhanpati the dream, and persuaded her to accompany him to the bamboo-cutter's shed where they slept the night. In the morning they made a string from some of Dhanpati's hair, and then started for the spot where the tree grew. When they neared the spot the black tiger charged down at Radhamon, but protected by his armour he attacked and slew the brute with his sword. They then approached the tree and Radhamon saw a squirrel to whom he gave the string made from Dhanpati's hair, and commanded him to lower a flower from the tree to Dhanpati. The squirrel obeyed, and then Dhanpati cut off several branches laden with golden flowers.

Radhamon then skinned the tiger, cut some flesh from each limb, and lighting a fire flung it, together with five flowers, into the flames. A dense cloud of smoke immediately enveloped them, and when it had cleared away they were standing in the forest with Saradhon and Nilakdhon and the two Bengalees beside them. There was left no sign of the enchanted tree or the dead tiger. They hastened back to their village where the recovery of the missing men was celebrated with much feasting, and Radhamon and Dhanpati were married amidst great and general rejoicing, at which the Chief himself was present. At the same time the friends Saradhon, Nilakdhon and Kunjadhon were married to Sarabi, Nilakbi and Kunjabi, and great happiness reigned in the village.*

There is another popular legend, which is known as legend of 'Jamai Maruni'. The legend in the language of Hutchinson is as follows:

Legend of Jamai
Maruni.

"Many years ago a certain king was blessed with an only and most beautiful daughter. The fame of her beauty was noised abroad, and many young and noble Princes came from distant lands to try and win her hand in marriage. The king, however, loved his daughter so dearly that he could not make up his mind to part with her, and finally fixed on a practically impossible task which must be accomplished before his daughter's hand could be won in marriage. This task was to jump off a precipitous cliff into the river and swim to the other side.

"This terrible ordeal, however, did not deter the young gallants from attempting it, and many perished, being either dashed to pieces on the rocks or drowned. But so surpassingly beautiful was the girl that suitors, undeterred by the fate of their predecessors, still came to attempt the impossible. One day a very handsome young Prince came to the king and claimed his right to attempt the ordeal. The king's heart went out to the beautiful lad, and his daughter at first sight fell desperately in love with him. The king was very miserable at the thought of the certain destruction that awaited the lad if he made the attempt, and he did his utmost to persuade the young Prince to return to his home; but he, bewitched with the dazzling beauty of the Princess, refused to listen to the king's advice. It was finally settled that the attempt should be made on the morrow, and all retired to rest. The king's sleep was very troubled, and in his dreams there appeared an old woman who came to his bedside and, touching him, said: "Why is our heart melted, and why does the Princess, your daughter,

*Quoted from "An Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" by Hutchinson.

even now weep and vow she will destroy herself"? The king told her all and besought her aid. The old woman told him to get four stout pillows well stuffed with cotton and bind them round the Prince's body, and then give him an open umbrella and let him leap from the cliff; no harm, she declared, would befall him. The old woman vanished as suddenly as she had appeared. In the morning the king told his daughter of the dream, and she went and confessed her love to the young Prince and besought him, for her sake, to carry out the instructions, which after very great persuasion, he consented to do. Arrived at the appointed place he was attired as the directions of the dream required, and was given a large umbrella to hold. The young Prince without hesitation took the dreadful leap, and great was the astonishment of the crowd to see him gently fall into the water and float across the river. The young Prince was brought in triumph to the king, who overjoyed at his safety, at once bestowed on him his daughter's hand in marriage and appointed him heir to the kingdom."

(The cliff where this trial took place is called in the Chakma language *Jamai Maroni*, or the bridegroom's killing. It is situated at *Chitmoron*, on the *Karnaphuli* river, and now falls within the *Sitapahar* forest reserve).

There is a folk lore story about king *Baranasi* and his seven sons. The story is given below in *Hutchinson's* language:

Specimen of
Chakma folk
lore.

"In early times there reigned a great king by name *Baranasi*. He had seven wives, each of whom was blessed with a son to the general satisfaction of the people. These seven sons were very carefully brought up and received a good education. One day dragons in the form of flying horses came and devoured the mangoes and other fruits in the king's garden. The king was exceedingly angry and ordered six of his sons to keep watch and prevent the dragons from devouring the fruit. The brothers, however, went away and played instead of keeping watch, and during their absence the dragons came and ate more fruit.

The king reproved his sons and sent his best beloved and youngest son to watch. The boy gladly obeyed his father, and arming himself with his bow and arrows, for he was great archer, commenced his watch in the garden. Presently the dragons arrived and the intrepid boy was about to shoot when they besought him to spare them, and he finally consented, after exacting a promise that they would hold themselves in readiness to come to his aid at once if he ever summoned them. This they engaged to do, and the lad then helped them to some

fruit and sent them away. The king was delighted at his beloved son's success, and banished the other brothers, but the youngest son would not stay alone, and followed his brothers into exile. The seven brothers journeyed afar, until they came to a kindgom, the king of which possessed a most beautiful daughter and no other children. This prince-s, in addition to being most beautiful, was extremely clever, and a very skilful horsewoman, and she possessed the swiftest steed in the world. Her father pressed her to marry so that he might get a male heir, but she said she would only marry the man who could defeat her horse in a race. The father had to be satisfied with this, and issued a challenge to all the princes far and wide to come and compete for the hand of his daughter. The fame of her great beauty drew many competitors and amongst others the six brothers determined to try and win her. They took no count of their youngest brother and left him behind in the forest to mind their house. The youngest brother was sorrowing at being left behind when he suddenly remembered the claim he had on the flying horses, and he summoned one to come to him. Immediately the horse appeared before him, and mounting it, he was transported to the spot where the princes were about to race with the daughter of the king. In the race the princess easily defeated all competitors with the exception of the youngest brother, who outdistanced her on his steed. As he was in disguise he was not recognised by his brothers, and after the race he was spirited back to his house in the forest. All effort to find the winner was in vain.

The six brothers on their return to the house boasted of their own riding, and said one of them would surely win the princess. Races were held on six different occasions and each time a mysterious stranger on a splendid steed defeated the princess and immediately vanished. At last the princess fell sick with love of the victor, and getting possession of his secret from a wizard she traced the young prince to the forest. There they mutually exchanged their feeling of love and went back to the palace, where the princess introduced the victor as her lover and husband. The father was very delighted with the prince and cheerfully ratified the match and made him his heir. The six brothers in the meantime had returned to their house and missed their youngest brother, searched for him in vain. Sorrowfully they concluded that he had been waylaid and devoured by a tiger, and prepared to return to their own country. But the youngest brother appeared and declared himself to them; and after feasting them he loaded them with presents and sent them

to fetch his father, the king. On their return there was great rejoicing and the two kings took the oath of friendship. On their deaths the youngest son succeeded them and reigned over both kingdoms".

(1) Māsē khēlo shilo khēi no dēlē tore mor chikan bēi na parong thēi. Specimen of
Chakma love
songs.

(As the little fishes of the hill stream cannot live without weeds that grow on the stones, I also love you so, my darling, that I cannot live without seeing you.)

(2) Ūrēs pakkhi tol chhei yā sarido noparim to mēiyā.

(The birds may cease to fly on high, but you will always possess my heart's deep love.)

(3) Chhorā chhari beel haba jor hado pān khilik heel habo.

(As the fishes delight when the streams and pools are full of water, so will my heart delight if I can but receive a pan from your dear hands.)

(4) Banot dogorēr haring sho jorē no dēle morimba.

(If I do not see you I shall die, my darling, as the deer of the forest that called and called for its mate till it died.)

(5) Dingī kulembi to ghatot mor ashal mūl poran to hātāt.

(The bark of my soul is anchored at your ghat, my heart is wholly yours, do with it as you please ;

or

I am your body and soul, do with me as you please, my darling).

Subari	kabi		khanekhan	Specimen of the Chakma mar- riage songs.
Betelnut	(I) cut		in pieces	
Ude	monotthun	nanan	gan	
Appear	from-the-mind	many	songs	
Sarma	kurare	ki	khud dim	
(To) Shy	hen	what	broken food (I) shall give.	
Udasi	manere	ki	bujh dim.	
(To) Indifferent	mind	what	consolation (I) shall give.	

Specimen of
Chakma
lullabies.

A *kūlē kolā* gāch oi *kūlē* chhara na *kānis* *bābūdhon* *ghumja*
bhangiba golā.

(Oh infant mine ! thy body is smooth and tender as the young plantain tree, sleep gently and do not cry; crying will but hurt thy tender throat, and change the soft crooning of thy voice to harshness as the gentle murmur of the streamlet grows hoarse by the swollen waters of the flood.)

(2) *Sonaro dhulonām ruparo dori na kānis* *bābūdhon* *ghumja* *dhulo not pori*.

(Thy cradle is golden, with network of silver : let its beauty delight thee, till, dazzled, thy eyes close and in sweet slumber repose.)

(3) *Kērēnjoo dhulnām kerēdā chak na khānis lakhā bura*
ghūmjei thāk. Aloo kochoo mileiyē māthaidi dogorē the billēiye.

[Your cradle is made of a flowery design, and is finely woven with "kerak" cane to make it beautiful and strong. So sleep quietly my darling ; for if you do not, pussy who is purring near your head will scratch your soft and tender body, which is more tender than boiled aloos and kochoos (yams)].

(4) *Āloo pātā thāloo re kūshya pātā myong no kānis lakhī*
bura oli dake dyong.

(Your body is softer than the tender leaves of the yams ; if pussy, whose claws are sharper than the leaves of the sugarcane, should scratch you, you will be hurt little darling, so sleep quietly.)

(5) *Dārū tūli jariphul na kānis* *bābūdhon rāngum sārattūn*
ja bābē āni diba nārekul.

(As the physician gathers the "jariphul" for his patients, your father will also purchase and bring you a cocoanut from Rangoon, so do not cry my baby darling, but sleep quietly.)

Written books in
Chakma
Language.

In Chakma language very few written books are found. Of these the name of the two books 'Rajmala' and 'Agartara' can be mentioned. 'Rajmala' is a book of history about Tippera and 'Agartara' is a book of religion. Both the books are written in Chakma alphabet.

Nilkamal Das.

'Boudha Ranjika' was translated from the religious book "Thaduttoang" which was in Burmese alphabet. The translation work was done in 1884 by Babu Nilkamal Das at the patronage of the Chakma Queen Sreemati Kalindi Rani.

Later on Jonab Abdul Hakim Mia, Head Master, Rangamati High School, edited the translation work of Babu Nil Kamal Das and published the same under the title "Boudha Ranjika" "Boudha Ranjika" is considered as the sacred book by the Chakmas.

Abdul Hakim.

The Chakmas have got seventeen principle religious books of which sixteen are in Pali language and one (Agartara) in Chakma alphabet. Names of these books are given below:—

Seventeen religious books of the Chakmas.

- (1) Malem Tara, (2) Sadhding Giri Tara (1st and 2nd Parts),¹
- (3) Anjja Tara, (4) Aren Tama Tara, (5) Sigal Mogo Tara, (6) Sarakdan Tara, (7) Dasa Parami Tara,
- (8) Bara Kuruk Tara and Chhoto Kuruk Tara, (9) Stri Pudra Tara, (10) Suradija Tara, (11) Pudum Phul Tara (12) Sahas Phulu Tara, (13) Phudum Phulu Tara, (14) Cherag Phulu Tara, (15) Swami Phulu Tara, (16) Rakhem Phulu Tara and (17) Agartara.

In English no worth mentioning books are written by any writer of Chakma tribe. However, Prof. Pierre Bessagnet quoted a few articles in his book "Tribesman of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" which are said to have written by the Chakma Chief, Capt. Raja Kumar Tridiv Roy and his father and grandfather. These are as follows:—

English writings.

- (1) Tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (written in August, 1951). By Capt. Raja Kumar Tridiv Roy.
- (2) Tribes of the Chakma Circle. By Raja Nalinaksha Roy (father of Raja Kumar Tridiv Roy). and Capt. Raja Kumar Tridiv Roy.
- (3) The History of the Chakma Raj (Oct. 1919). By Bhuvan Mohan Roy (grand father of Capt. Raja Tridiv Kumar Roy).

In these articles some valuable informations about the Chakma tribes are available.

The Mugh tribe of the Chittagong Hill Tracts belongs to the Burma group of the Tibet Burma family. The dialect in current use in this tribe is Mughi, a corruption of Arracanese, which is itself a dialect of Burmese, written in the Burmese character.

Language of the Mugh Tribe.

About this language Capt. T. H. Lewin writes:*

"The Khyongtha (Mugh) speaks a provincial dialect of the Arracanese language, which tongue was also the

*The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein, page 59.

parent stock of the modern Burmese language. The written character is the same as the Burmese. The Arracanese language has the strong affinities with the Himalayan and Tibetan dialects. Mr. Brain Hodgson is of opinion (Journal B. Asiatic Society, September, 1849) that the Burmese language has sprung from the Thibetan, while he finds that it has much in common with the Singpho and Naga dialects".

The Mugh people of Chittagong Hill Tracts, specially in the Bohmong circle read and write Burmese. In the Buddhist temples as well as in the lay schools most of the Mugh children learn Burmese character.

Literature.

No modern standard literature is found in the Mugh language. But hundreds of love songs composed by the village poet in Mugh language are found and heard as sung by the Mughs. In Mugh term these songs are called 'Kapyā'. 'Kapyā' is sung, specially at the time of harvest when people work in the jooms.

The following are literal English translation of two Mugh 'Kapayas':

Kapayas

1. From afar off I see the waters of the Kynsa,
White in the valley.
What good have I from gazing on it,
Some other will bathe therein (All give the "hoia"—a
kind of hill cry),
From afar off gazing, I see a maiden;
White and fair is she.
What good have I from looking on her,
Some more fortunate one will obtain her love. (Grand
"hoia").
2. A flock of birds;
One bird only on a high tree sitting
All alone.
Of men, a crowd:
One man only, without a companion,
Has no happiness.

The proverbs of this people are very interesting and significant. Some examples in original with English translation are given below:

1. Aipaw peerey tummung go Food refused when offered.
ma tcha.

- Konye eyn tak paw, hrarey Search in seven houses, and you
ma ra. will not find.

2. Khwee gOUNg mha khee Like a dog with a dirty head.
san yau.

3. Tchapo ma tai kuey seerey The person not knowing how
to eat will die.

- Toing po ma tai kuey The person not knowing how
hruie rarey. to sit will get up.

4. Wa la, wa kuoinrey ... The bamboo is bound by the
bamboo.

- Techang la, techang phain- The elephant is caught by the
rey. elephant.

5. Proa gyan ma heeguey ... From silence the tongue grows
Shia lop ma ra. rusty;

- Lagyan ma heeguey ... From long rest the legs grow
Akreeop ma ra. disobedient.

6. Seera seemey, naga amauk If I must die, I must die; but
go ma koynguey-wo- do not touch my top knot,
dong tcho hnewn. as the peacock said.

The Lushai people belong to the Tibet-Burma family and the language is spoken by them is Lushai which has the closest affinity to those of the Murring and Thoda Kookies of the Munipoor frontier. A close observation will also show that this language is almost identical with the tongue of the Pankho and Bunjogee tribes. Previously there was no written character of the Lushai language. But at present it has been Romanised, i.e., written in Latin alphabet. There are now systematic Lushai language, Lushai grammar, Lushai dictionaries, etc.

The Lushai
Language.

Lushai letters or
sounds.

Mr. Brojonath Shaha, gathered 49 simple and compound sounds of the Lushai dialect, which he systematised into their equivalent Roman letters.* These are as follows:

Lushai sounds. Corresponding Bengali sounds. Corresponding English sounds.

Vowels.

1. a	Simple	অ	as a in 'all', 'talk'.
2. ā		আ, ঈ	as a in 'arm', 'far', 'farther'.
3. e		এ, ঙ	as e in 'eh!' 'prey'.
4. i, ī		ই, ঋ, ঌ, ঍	as i in 'ill', 'machine', 'caprice.'
5. u, ū		উ, ঊ, ঋ, ঌ	as u in 'bull', 'put', 'rude', 'rural'.
6. ri, rī		ঋ, ঌ, ঍, ঎	as wr in 'wrist' and rh in 'rhythm'.
7. o		ও, ঔ	as o in 'only', 'most', 'old'.
8. ae or ay		য এ (যা)	as oy in 'royal', 'coy'.
9. ai	Compound.	ঐ, ঔ	as in the quick utterance as one word of 'O! ye' in 'O! ye mortals!'
10. au		ওঁ ঔ	as in the quick utterance as one word of 'O! wo' in 'O! wolf!'
11. ei		(Peculiar to Lushai) এই	as ei in 'eight'.

Consonants.

12. k	Simple.	ক	as k in 'king' or c in 'cut'.
13. kh		খ	
14. g		গ	as g in 'gun'.
15. gh		ঘ	...
16. ch		চ	as ch in 'church'.
17. chh		ছ	...
18. j		জ	as j in 'judge'.
19. t		ট	as t in 'to'.

*A Grammar of the Lushai Language.

Lushai sounds. Corresponding Bengali sounds. Corresponding English sounds.

(Consonants—Concl'd.

20. th	ঠ	...
21. d (foreign)	ড	as d in 'do'.
22. n	ন	as n in 'no'.
23. ñ or ng	ং	as ng in 'king'.
24. t	ত	...
25. th	থ	as th in 'thou' or 'there'.
26. d	দ	as th in 'than'.
27. p	প	as p in 'pass'.
28. ph	ফ	...
29. b	ব	as b in 'boy'.
30. bh	ভ	...

Simple—Concl'd.

31. m	ম	as m in 'man'.
32. r	র	as r in 'run'.
33. rh	ঢ়	...
34. l	ল	as l in 'let'.
35. s	স	as s in 'sun'.
36. sh	ষ	as sh in 'shut'.
37. h	হ	as h in 'hat'.
38. f	...	as f in 'father'.
39. z	...	as z in 'zeal'.
40. v	...	as v in 'voice'.
41. hm or mm	ক্ষ্ম	...
42. hn or nn	ক্ষ্ম	...
43. hl	হল	...
44. hr	হ্র	Compound. ...
45. thl	থল	...
46. ng	ং	as ng in 'king'.
47. nk (foreign)	ক	as nk in 'thank'.

Number.

Some descriptions of the Lushai Grammar are given below:

There are two numbers—singular and plural.

Certain Nouns are alike in singular and plural, as—

mi=man; thu=word; sa=meat; thing=tree; thin=heart.

The plural terminations of Nouns are—

1st, te: as—

Mi-hring='man' ...	... Mi-hring te='men'.
Mi='man' or 'woman'.	... Mi-te='men' or 'women'.
Naopāng='boy' ...	... Naopāng te='boys'.
Fā='child' ...	... Fā-te='children'.

2nd, ho or hok (the k is not pronounced): as—

Savā='bird'. ...	... Savā-ho='birds'.
Mi='man' or 'woman'	... Mi-ho='Men' or 'women'.
Lāl='chief'. ...	... Lāl ho='chiefs.'

3rd, te-ho: as—

Kā-u='brother'. ...	... Kā-u-te-ho='brothers'.
Lāl='chief'. ...	... Lāl-te-ho='chiefs..
Kā-pā='father' ...	... Kā-pā-te-ho='fathers' (i. e. fathers and superiors).
Mi-hring='man'. ...	... Miring-te-ho='men'.

4th, zañ: as—

Lāl='chief'. ...	... Lāl-zañ='chiefs'.
Māo='bamboo'. ...	... Māo-zañ='bamboos in cluster'.
Sā-ngā='fish'. ...	... Sā-ngā-zañ='fishes'.
Rol-thār='youth'	... Rol-thār-zañ='youths'.

5th, te-zañ: as—

Mi-te-zañ='a crowd'.	... Sava-te-zañ='flock of birds'.
----------------------	-----------------------------------

6th, āzā-in or ānzā-in: as—

Tānkā āzā-in='all money'. ...	Pu-an-āzā-in='all clothes'.
Mi-ānzā-in='all men'	... Sebang ānzā-in='all cows'.

Āzā-in is used for Nouns in the neuter gender, ānzā-in for masculine and feminine.

Of the plural terminations, *te-zañ* alone is used in connection with Pronouns: as *kei-ni-te-zañ* = 'we all'.

The genders are masculine, feminine, and neuter; but the Gender. latter is very rarely used.

1. Certain words are only found in the masculine gender: as—

Pā-tuñ = 'married man'; '*upā-zet*' = 'bachelor'.

2. Certain words are used both for males and females: as—

Ri = 'brother or sister'; *unao* = 'male or female relative';
nao = 'younger brother or sister'; *leng-tul* = 'bachelor
 or maid who never intends to marry'.

3. Masculines and feminines are denoted by different words: as—

Masculine.	...	...	Feminine.
<i>Pā</i> = 'father'	...	...	<i>Nū</i> = 'mother'.
<i>Pū</i> = 'grandfather'	...	...	<i>Pi</i> = 'grandmother'.
<i>Rol-thār</i> = 'young man'	...	...	<i>Nula</i> = 'young woman'.
<i>Nao-pāng</i> = 'boy' ...	...	...	<i>Unāo</i> = 'girl'.

4. Also by the affixes *pā* and *nū*: as—

Masculine.	...	...	Feminine.
<i>Fa-pā</i> = 'son' ...	...	...	<i>Fā-Nū</i> = 'daughter'.
<i>Thien-pā</i> = 'male friend'	...	...	<i>Thien-nu</i> = 'female friend'.
<i>Tār-pā</i> = 'old man'	...	...	<i>Tar-nu</i> = 'old woman'.
<i>Ār-pā</i> = 'cock' ...	...	...	<i>Ār-nū</i> = 'hen'.

5. Masculine Proper Nouns end in *ā*, and feminine Proper Nouns in *i*: as—

Names of men.	...	...	Names of women.
<i>Siak-bongā</i> ...	...	...	<i>Rou-lī-āni</i> .
<i>Hāi-chang-thāngā</i> ...	...	...	<i>Tuā-lāli</i> .

There are eight Cases—The Nominative, Objective, Possessive, Case. Dative, Ablative, Locative, Causative, and Vocative.

Nominative.

1. The Nominative and Objective have no inflexions. The Nominative is known by its position as the first word in a sentence, and by a corresponding Nominative particle prefixed to the Verb: as—

1. Kā bay-nū-chi khiñ-khāt My slave-girl has brought a
My slave female salt seer one seer of salt from the market.
darā-tā ā-ran-han tā
market from (or of) brought has.

Objective.

2. The Objective is placed immediately before the Active Verb or Preposition: as—

1. Siakbongā sillāi pākhat 1. Siakbonga wanted to buy a
gun one gun.

ā lei du.

to buy wished.

Possessive.

3. The Possessive is known by the affix tā or ātā : as—

1. He nao-āl-hi tu 1. Whose match is this? it is
This lucifer match whom that man's.
tā-nge ani? Khā mi ta
of is? That person of
khā āni
is.

2. Sa zuñ-bun sa nāngmā-tā 2. That ring may be yours.
That ring you of
ā-ni āng-chu.
be may.

Dative.

4. The Dative has no inflexion, but the Direct Object follows the Indirect Object or Dative Case.

1. Keimā Māmā Pu-an kā-pe-e 1. I gave cloth to Māmā.
I to Mama cloth gave.

5. The Ablative is formed by certain Prepositions, as *hūna* placed after the word, and by the affix *ā* or *tā* (t euphonic): as—

1. Khuā-vāng unenā āthā min 2. Good wil come to me from
God from good to me God.
han-ānge.
come will.

Locative.

6. The Locative is formed by the affixes *ā* and *in*: as—

1. Ā pum-ā nāo-te ā-am 1. A child is in her womb.
Her womb in child is.

7. The Causative is formed by certain Prepositions, as Causative, *avāng-in*, *tān*, placed after the word, and by the affix *ā* or its euphonic from *tā*: as—

1. *Sāng avāng-in kāl ti-rok* 1. Send for fishes.

Fishes for to go cause.

8. The Vocative is known by its position at the beginning Vocative, of a sentence, whether preceded by a Interjection or not. In the case of masculine Proper Nouns the affix *n* is used, or the terminal *ā* is dropped. In feminine Proper Nouns the terminal *i* is dropped : as—

<i>Māmā</i> becomes <i>Māmān</i> or <i>Mām</i>	} Masculine Proper Nouns.
<i>Pākungā</i> becomes <i>Pākungān</i> or <i>Pākung</i> .	
<i>Rou-li-āni</i> becomes <i>Rou-li-ān</i>	Feminine Proper Nouns.

Adjective have three degrees of comparison the Positive Adjective, Comparative, and Superlative, The Comparative and Superlative in Lushai are alike, and there are no irregular degrees of comparison:

Positive.	Comparative.	Superlative.
<i>Āthā</i> = 'good'.	<i>Āthā zak</i> = 'better'.	<i>Āthā zak-ber</i> 'to, or em = 'best'.
<i>Ālien</i> = 'big', 'great'	<i>Ālien zak</i> = 'bigger'	<i>Ālien zak-ber, te, or em</i> = 'biggest, 'greatest'.

The numerals are as follows:

<i>Pā-khat</i> = 1.	<i>Pā-hnit</i> (t silent) = 2.	<i>Pā-thūm</i> = 3.	<i>Pā-li</i> = 4.	Numerals.
<i>Pā-ngā</i> = 5.	<i>Pā-ruk</i> = 6.	<i>Rā-sāri</i> = 7.	<i>Pā-riek</i> = 8.		Pā-kuā = 9.
<i>Shom</i> = 10.				

Pā is the common numeral prefix from one to nine. Negation.

To express the negation 'loh' or 'shu' is added.

<i>Ka kal Loh</i> ...	I do not go
<i>Kal shu</i> ...	Dont' go

Like other hill tribes, Lushai people are also fond of songs Literature, and stories. Specimens of Lushai love songs with English translation are given below:

1. *Tujan* (to might) *Tunjchang* (you and I have drunk) *chankhang* (drumming) *Krendra* (beautifully) *kan-chiangini* (you and I will separate) *nagalma* (do you hear me) *jaltring phang* (when shall we meet again) *jaltring nambampa* (like the female and the male stars) *tanniharai* (you and I have not met for ages) *akambiray* (might you and I have drunk and will dance) *heibang kanchianlai* (we shall go to our respective houses.).

2. Ni	leng	ka	tum	loh	ve.		
Day's	run	I	wish	eagerly	not		
Tli	var	Ka-tum		loh	ve.		
Evening	dusk	I wish		eagerly	not		
Atha	nim	an		ka	ka	bi-a.	
Good (i.e., beautiful)	girls	their		speech	I	solicit.	
Ni	len	Ka tum		le			
Day	then	I wish eagerly		again.			

Specimen of Lushai fable:

Nulá	le	Sákei					
The Girl	and	the Tiger.					
Nulá	Khá	áthá	lová	á-kal-in	sákei-chu		
Girl	that	good	into	joom	going	tiger	
á-hmu-á	á-khángái-e.	Nulá	loh-vin				
saw (and) fell in love with.		Girl	without				
ane-thei-hek-loh.	Nulá	pá	hncná				
her remain could at all not.	Girl's	father	to				
á-kál	'nopui	ká	nei	áng'	á-ti		
going	'wife	I	get	will',	he said		
ápá-chuan	á-nulá	dil	khá	á-dik-loh-vin			
father	his girl	asked for	which	improper being			
a-ril-ruk	e:	Phál	loh	chu-an	á-dik-loh,		
ponderd:		Permitted	not	if	(it is) right not,		
sákei	thin-á	ur-áng-chu,	sákei-chu	mác-pá			
tiger	in heart	would be angry even,	tiger	son-in-law			
áni-in	áthá	loh	vänge.	'A.	sákci	nángmá	
to be	good	not	will be.	'O	tiger	your	
i-há-za	phal-i-láng	i	tin	zái	thála	láng	
teeth	extracted being	your	claws		cut	being	
ká	fa-nu	nopui	tán	i	nei	ánge	a ti
my	daughter	wife	for	you	get	will	he said;
'chiti-loh-chu-an	keima	ka-fa-nu	a-hlao	thin			
'otherwise	my	daughter	fear	always			
ángá	nángma	nen	á-mu	thei			
would (and) you		with	to sleep	be able			
loh-vänge.	Sákei-in	nulángái	ták-ták	á			
not will.	Tiger (for)	girl love	excessive	in			
'a-le'	á ti	Há	le	tin	án-kál-pui-á		
'yes'	said,	Teeth	and	claws	were-removed		
Ká-pá-chu	tál-tun	áhrol	lá-so-láng-in				
Father	stick	big]	taking				
sákei	chu	á-vua	lum	tur,	A-tap-tá.		
(of) tigeven even		beat the brains	out.	it has ended.			

Capt. Lewin described that the languages of Lushai and Kuki tribes are same. Some other anthropologists also hold the same view. But a close observation shows that there are some basic differences between the Kuki and Lushai languages. The Kuki language is also different from the languages of Mugh, Pankho, Bunjogi and other tribes. But it is a fact that the Kuki language is the intermixture of the dialects of the different tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In this connection Mr. T. S. Hodson writes: "As regards the Kuki dialects the information available is not sufficient to make a thorough comparison. It is clear that they are very much allied to Lushai and Thado and to each other. The connection between Monipuri and what Dr. Grierson calls Chin language will, I believe, be found on further enquiry to closer than at first appears."

Language of the
Kuki tribe.

Mr. Abdus Satter in his book "Arayanna Janapade" tells that it is difficult to study their language thoroughly. It is against their custom to learn others' language. They are also conservative to let others learn their own language. Among the hill tribes bi-lingualism is almost common. But the Kukies are not binli-gual. They speak seldom when they come out from the association of their own people. In conversation with other people, they speak their own language or they make conversation through gesture and posture, if the person with whom they talk does not understand their dialects.

There is no written character of the Kuki language and no effort has been made by any linguist or anybody else to systematise the same as has been done for the Lushai language.

Written
Characters.

There are hundreds of songs in Kuki language. A specimen of a Kuki song is given below with translation in English :

<i>Renga</i>	<i>roale</i>	<i>thang</i>	<i>leapa</i>	<i>al</i>	
<i>A</i>	<i>lame</i>	<i>soale</i>	<i>lungdi</i>	<i>leng-e</i>	
<i>Mokama</i>	<i>sale</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>thi</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>al</i>
<i>Bonga</i>	<i>clapno</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ale</i>		
<i>Lungdi</i>		<i>lungdi</i>		<i>leng-e.</i>	
We,	all,	dance	together	like	peacocks
Spreading	the	feathers,	our	minds	
are overwhelmed		with	joy.		

The flag of joy of our mind is flying in delight as the flag at the top of the sacred house of the Muslims soars.

This is the language of the Khami tribe. Shafer places this language in the Southern Branch of the Kukish section. Embree and Thomas agree with Shafer's classification. Benedict too agrees with them but writes that "Khami is the most aberrant of the southern Kuki languages and at the same time the most difficult to handle".

The Khami
Language.

The Khami language does not possess any written character

Khmi grammar. In Khmi language 'Po' and 'nu' are used with the words in masculine and feminine genders respectively of the human being. e. g., Am Po—father, cho-po—son, chin nu—daughter.

'Nu' is used in the feminine genders of the animals, e. g., Sira nu—cow, 'Na-i' and 'na' are used with the words in the plural numbers, e. g., Nam pui hui na nai—good women.

**Pankho and
Bunjogee
dialects.**

The Pankho and Bunjogee tribes also belong to the Tibeto-Burma family. They state themselves to be of common origin; and the great similarity in their customs, habits and language confirms this statement. According to R. Shafer, Pankho has some special links with Bunjogee. Capt. Lewin also proves the similarity between these two dialects by supplying the vocabulary list. Capt. Lewin also states that these two dialects have strong resemblance with the Lushai language. Stevenson considers the Bunjogee and the Pankho dialects as the subdivision of the *Lai-chin*, i. e., Central chin. Bernot has also noticed a near similarity between the languages of the Northern Chin and the Pankho and the Bunjogee.

But the relationship of the Bunjogee and Pankho dialects with other languages belonging to the Tibeto-Burmease family has not been established.

There is no written character for the Pankho and Bunjogee dialects.

Some descriptions of the Grammar of Pankho and Bunjogee dialects.

Grammar.

1. 'Chal' and 'no' are used to denote masculine and feminine gender of the animals respectively.

Example: Bang chal—Horse

Khel a no—She goat.

2. (a) In the present tense 'tu a' is used in the Pankho dialect and 'rha' or 'rau' is used in the Bunjogee dialect.

Example: Kei ma ni tu a ka vouk

I have beaten (Pankho)

An the rau—He has been sitting (Bunjogee)

(b) In the past tense 'ru' is used in the Pankho dialect and 'ta' is used in the Bunjogee dialect:

Example: Kei ma kal ru—I went (Pankho).

Ka chu an ta—I did this work (Bunjogee).

(c) In the future tense 'lai' is used in the Pankho dialect and 'ti' is used in the Bunjogee dialect.

Example: Ka kal lai—I shall go there (Pankho).

Ka kal ti—I shall go there (Bunjogee).

Pankho:

Mirhim Katka nau fa ni ka a nai.

A nau uin kei chan ni ni pa ba

A chan ai a Pan apek, a chen ni tu sum a Kal pui bung dang a. A tu sum chu a ju ar puan chuk ding a nai lu.

A kal na rum chu flu mu chakding a nai lu.

Specimen of
Pankho and
Bunjogee
dialects.

Bunjogee:

Minang Pakat laga pa pini un fa pini laga a na ka sesik pa Kasim, mopa kai katung dingmi hank pa. Midang tu na umi ani pi mekhi kapek na tanat lai lanah a nak semi atang leh aphor nullah mij dang Pakat khu a akal vin.

English translation of the above two specimens:

One man had two sons. The younger son told, "father, give me the share of the property, which I am entitled. Father gave away his share. Consequently, he went to the other-side of the hill. Within a short period of time he wasted all of his property. At last he could not get food to eat.

The people of the Tipra tribe belong to the Bodo group of the Tib to-Burma family. They have got their own distinct language which is known as Tipra or Hallami. Hutchinson tells that Hallami is not only the language of Tipras but Mroongs and Kukis also speak in this language. Mr. Lewin also holds the same view. Mr. J. D. Anderson writes, "The language is really 'Hallami' spoken by immigrants from the state of Hill Tippera.....In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the language is called mrung".*

Language of the
Tipra tribe.

But though there are certain similarities among the Tipra, Kuki and Mroong languages nevertheless these languages are different from one another.

About this language Lucien Bernot speaks:**

"The Tipra language is nearer to the Burmese language and Marma (Mugh) dialects than to the Bengali; However in the Tipra vocabulary there are many words borrowed

*A short list of words of the Hill Tippera language published from Shillong in 1885.

**Ethnic Group of Chittagong Hill Tracts.

from Bengali". Mr. R. Shafer, in his classification of the Sino-Tibetan language includes the Tipra language in the "Baric Division" (Assam), Barish section, western Branch.*

Tipra is not a written language.

Language of the Mroongs.

The language of the Mroongs has striking resemblance with that of the Tipras. Lewin's comparative vocabulary shows the linguistic similarity between the Mroong and the Tipra.** The Mroong language belongs to the Tibeto Burmese linguistic family, but this language is rather different from any other language in this family. Taylor has rightly pointed out that "it bears relationship to many languages but is closely connected with none."

Mroong language has no written character.

Language of the Sendus.

Sendus are the most aboriginal people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They speak their own language which has no written alphabet. Sendu language does not bear any similarity with the languages of any other Hill Tribes. As to the origin of the Sendu language nothing has yet been ascertained. Sendu people are also very much conservative and rarely bi-lingual.

Though there is no written alphabet of the Sendu language, the Sendu people use some significant sign to express the ideas, which cannot be understood by others except themselves. The caligraphy of the Sendus reminds us the caligraphies of the cuneiform and Hieroglyphic of the ancient Sumer and ancient Egypt.

Languages of other tribes.

Other tribes, viz., Mro, Khyangs, etc., also have got their own languages. Their languages also belong to the Tibeto-Burma family, but possess quite distinct character.

We get the following writers, who either served in the Chittagong Hill Tracts or visited the district for the purpose of collecting data and writing books.

Colonel Sir A. Phayre.

Colonel Sir A. Phayre wrote some articles which were published in the journal Asiatic Society, Bengal in 1841.

Capt. T. H. Lewin.

Capt. T. H. Lewin was a Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. He wrote, "The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein with Comparative Vocabularies of the Hill Dialects" (1889) and "A Fly on the Wheel" (1885) published from Bengal Printing Company Ltd., Calcutta.

*Classification of the Sino-Tibetan Languages, 1955.

**List supplied at the end of the chapter.



A boy and a girl of the Tipra tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Hutchinson wrote a book entitled "An Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" and "The Gazetteer of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" (1909). Hutchinson.

June Niblett was a daughter of Mr. Lance Niblett, an ex-Duputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. She spent few years in the Chittagong Hill Tracts with her father. She gave a few notes of her impression of the Hill Tracts in the form of remembrances. Miss June Niblett.

Broja Nath Saha was an Assistant Surgeon of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. He wrote "A Grammar of the Lushai Language" which was published in 1884. Broja Nath Saha.

S. R. Chandra Baduya wrote "Chattgrame Mager Itihas" which was published in 1906. S.R. Chandra Baduya.

Satish Chandra Ghose wrote the book entitled "Chakma Jati" (1909). Satish Chandra Ghose.

Lucien Bernot visited the Chittagong Hill Tracts along with his wife Denise Bernot for the purpose of research work on the Hill Tribes. He wrote "Quelques aspects de la vie sociale des Mogh (Marma) du Pakistan oriental" in French which was published from Paris in recent time. He also wrote some articles on the Hill Tribes of Chittagong in English. Lucien Bernot.

Denise Bernot wrote "Essai de Bibliographie Burmane" in French which was published from Paris. Denise Bernot.

Prof. Pierre Bessagnet was formerly the Head of the Deptt. of Sociology, Dacca University. He wrote "Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" which was published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan in 1958. Pierre Bessagnet.

Abdus Satter visited the Chittagong Hill Tracts and wrote "Aranya Janopade" which has been published from Dacca. In this book he discussed the life of the different aboriginal and Hill Tribes of East Pakistan. Abdus Satter.

No mentionworthy journal is published from the Chittagong Hill Tracts. However, a journal named 'Geirika' was published both in English and Bengali from the Chakma Rajbari from 1936. The journal, edited by Rani Benita Roy and Pravat Kumar Ray discussed many aspects of tribal culture, arts, languages, etc. Another journal named "Rangamati" was published in 1964 by the district council. It was intended to be a quarterly magazine, but no subsequent issue saw the light of the day. Journal published from the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

APPENDIX

Comparative

English.	Hill Arracanese.	Tipara.	Col. Phayer's Mrung.	Kumi (Khami).	Col. Phayer's Kumi (Khami)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Air	Lih	Now-ba	Na u ba	Kli	Gali
An t	paroytsik	Musurrum	..	Tseyma-mlin	Balin
Arrow	Hmra	..	Le	M'la	Li
Bird	Ngák	Töksa	Ho	Thwá	Tavá
Blood	Sui	Bato-i	..	Athi	Athi
Boat	Loung	Rung	Rung	M'loung	M'loung
Bone	Aro	Burrin	Ba-kre	A'hu	A'hu
Buffalo	Kyuay	Ma-shi	Ma-shi	Maná	Mana
Cat	Kroung	Ami	Ami	Mi-bo-i	Mimbo-i
Cow	No-a	Ma-lsa	Ma-chau	Khaboi	Kha-bo-i
Crow	Kyigyn	Tow-ka	Tuk-qua	O'a	Wa-á
Day	Ni	Tsal	Tsal-o	Mani	Mani
Dog	Khwi	Tsoey	Tchai	U-i	U-i
Ear	Na	Kung-ju	Kung-ju	A-ga-ná	A-ga-ná
Earth	Mring	Ha	..	Ta-la-koung	Ka-lái-hong
Egg.	U	Tow-toi	..	Adeu	Du
Elephant	Tchang	Mai-yung	..	Su-sá	Ka-sái
Eye	Myatsi	Ma-qua	Maqua	A-mi	A-mi
Father	Apha	Apah	A-bha	Pá-ci	Pá-ci
Face	Myahna	Makang	..	..	..
Fire	Min	Hor	..	Mhá-i	Má-i
Fish	Nga	A	A-á	Nuboi	Mo-i
Flower	Pyn	Khum	..	A-pa	A-pá
Foot	Po-a	Ya-kun	Ya-kong	A-kho-mya	A-kho
Goat	Tcheyt	Pu-in	Pun	Tso-be	Tos-bé
Hair	Tchyn-bang	Kun-nai	B-Kun-nai	A'shám	A'shám
Hand	Lak	Yak	Yak	Akau	A-kú
Head	Goung	Bukro	Bo-krá-o	A-lú	Alú
Hog	Wawk	Wak	Wa	A-om	O
Horn	Agro	Bakron	..	A-ta-ki	Attáki
Horse	Mrang	Kora-i	Gora	Tchup-pu	Ta-phu
House	Eing	Nók	Náo	I'n	I'n
Iron	Tsyn	Tsur	Tcho	Sing	S'hein

48.

Vocabulary.

Mru.	Khyeng.	Lhoosai (Kookie).	Bunjogi.	Pankho.	Shendu.
7	8	9	10	11	12
Li	Kli	Hli	H'li	H'li	Tli
..	Ling za-mi	Mirrick	Tawpir	Kaw-ma-ri	Palait
Ba	Thwál	Ti	Thal	Thal	Tchaty
Wa-sa	Hau	Saba	Wately	Sava	Pava
U-i	Kathl	Thi	Thi	Thi	Tih
Loung	Loung	Loung	Loung	Loung	Pullaw
Hot	Kayok	Har	Arù	Aro	Harki
M'po	Nau	Sillai	Nā	Sullai	Na
Min	Min	Jawtey	Lawtchee	Lawtchee	Maita
Teheya	Shar	Tsaw-pē	Tsaw	Tchaw-pe	Véchna
Wa	A-ngaw	Sunka	Lang-ak	Va-ka	Va-a
Tsat	Ko-nup	Tsūn	Tù-tsūn	vaini	Venai
Kù-i	U-i	Wi	Wi	Ul	Ee
Pram	Kanaw	Beyng	Na	Na	Naburhey
Krang	Det	Towul	Tùwul	Tù-wul	Eljy
Wa-dū-i	To-i	Artoi	Azing	Azing	Atee
Nga-sháit	Mwí	Sa-i	Sa-i	Sa-i	Mashé
Mē	Mi-ù-i	Mith	Mith	Mith	Mai
Pa	Pau	Kuppah	Kuppah	Pá	Opa
Limor	..	..	..	..	Amhé
Má-i	Mi	Moy	Má-i	Má-i	Me-i
Dám	Ngau	Nga	Nga	Sa-nga	Ngawk
Pá-ou	Kyc-pá	Par	Par	Par	Papyt
Khouk	A-ko	Ke-kok	Ké-zar	Poi-phak	Phé-ya
Rwáuk	Ma	Kél	Kél	Kél	Bi-hya-Pak
Sham	Sám	Shám	Tsūm	Tsūm	Eshuh
Bong	Na-kūth	Vang	Kùtzar	Kootpar	Yapei
Lù	Lù	Lù	Lù	Lù	Elu
Pák	Wek	Vak	Vawk	Vawk	Vo
Nang	A-kyi	Ki	Ar-ki	Arki	Aqih
Ko-ra-ngá	Shé	Suk-kur	Rang	Sukkur	Aruh
Kin	Imi	In	In	In	Ait
Loung-há	Thi	Thir	Thir	Thjr	Tee-va

English.	Hill. Arracanese.	Tipara.	Col. Phayer's Mrung.	Kumi (Khami).	Col. Phayer's Kumi (Khami)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Leaf	Arwak	Bullai	..	A-khang	Laháng
Light	Aróng	Kuchùng	..	Ka-ba-ruk	A-văn-da-ga
Man	Lu	Tchulla	Tsala	Kimmi	Kami
Monkey	Myouk	Mùkra	..	Kullay	Ka-lái
Moon	La	Tal	Tā	H'la	Lā
Mother	A-min	Amon	Amò	Nū-oi	Ka-ū-i
Mountain	Toung	Hatcha	Lāi	Takun	Ta-kùn
Mouth	Khunang	Bukko	..	A-ma-ká	A-ma-ká
Mosquito	Kring	Tampui	..	Ka-chaw-ghong	Kán-sa-ká Amin
Name	Amé	Mong	..	Amin	Makhun
Night	Ngyé	Hor	Hwrrò	Makhùn	S'hi
Oil	Tchi	Thao	..	Tchi	Ka-ti
Plantain	Naga-pyū-si	Ta-ili	..	Ka-ti	Ka-vā-
River	Mryt	To-i-ma	Tei-bù	Kawa	Lang
Road	Lyn	Lamā	Lān	Lām	Maloi
Salt	Tchah	Tchom	..	Mā-lo-i	Aphu
Skin	Ari	Bukur	..	Aphaw	Khau
Sky	Goungkhang	Nowkha	..	Khau-sen-ni	Ma-khū-i
Snake	Mruin	Tchebbu	Tsebù	Ma-khu-i	Ashi
Star	Kré	A-tu-kroi	Hando-gri	Asi	Ka-lùn
Stone	Kyouk	Hloung	Kulaun-g	Talùn	Kani
Sun	Ni	Tsāl	..	Ka-ni	Ta-ka-i
Tiger	Kyā	Ma-tsā	..	Ta-ka-i	Afha
Tooth	Tsoa	Bù-a	..	Afā	Akùn
Tree	Apang	Bapnāng	Ba-pang	Tikoung	Vāng
Village	Roa	Kami	..	Wáng	Tùl-khá-kā-i
Water	Ri	Toey	Tei	Tù-i	Nán
Yam	Mrowk	Htá	Hta	Khā	Ha-nā-i
I	Nga	Aong	..	Kā-i	..
Thou	Nang	Nūng	..	Nāng	..
He	Thu	Ba	..	Ha-nāi	..
She	..	..	..	..	..

Mur.	Khyeng	Lhoosal (Kookie)	Bunjogi.	Pankho.	Sendu.
7	8	9	10	11	12
Hap	Sheng	Hná	Thing-hra	Thing-hna	Tain-hna
..	Akyel	Yaing	Avár	Avár	Apa-vuh
Mru	Krang	Mi	Mjñùng	Mir-hi-em	Fhaw-fha
Yùt	Young	Jong	Jong	Jong	Ejawk
La-ma	Klhau	Tlá	Tlá	Tlá	Tla-pu
A-u	Nù	Anù	Nù	Nù	Uma
Hùng	Shùng	T'lang	T'lang-po-i	T'lang-po-i	Tla-pi
Naur	Hak-kau	Mēl	Makar	Makar	Pakar
Tsáng	Young-yán	Towtsey	Ei-sep-ko-i	E-sep-ko-i	..
Ming	Na-mi	Mi	Riming	Riming	Namai
Wár	Ayán	Jana	Azing	Azing	Yahwt
Tsa-o	To	..	Tuthao	..	Futun
Deng	Nhim-pan	Vanghla	Banghla	Banghla	Mi-pi
Sítá	Sida	To-i-pui	Tu-i-pui	Tui-pui	Ti-pi
Té-yá-ma	Lám	Lam-poi	Lampui	Lam-Pui	Luh-pi
Oi-tsagh	Tsi	Tchi	Mitchi	Mitchi	Elow
Pik	Wün	Bün	Vun	Vun	Avang
Mù-kwáng	Han-mi	Ahlā	Ruvan	Ruvan	Avuh
Roo	Phoi	Rù-i	Mrùl	Mrùl	Peri
Karait	Ashē	Ar-si	Ar-fē	Ar-si	Arfee
H'wa	Lùn	Lùng	Mytéklùng	Klung	Elowk
Tsat	Hni	Ni	Ni	Ni	Anai
Pri	Kyi	Suk-kai	Ko-i	Ko-i	Tchuk-kai
Yun	Na-hau	Há	Há	Há	Ahá
Tsing	Thing	Thing	Thing	Thing	Thait
Kwá	Nám	Kwá	Kwá	Kwá	Akúh
Tù-i	Tù-i	Tù-i	Tù-i	Tù-i	Tee
Ro-	Ba-há	Bal	Bara	Brá	Be
Aong	Kyé	Koyma	Koyma	Koyma	Khmna
En	Nang	Nung-ma	Nung-ma	Nung-ma	Nhuma
Mami	Ni	Um-ma	..	Umna	Ke
..



A dancing party of the Murang tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER XII

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

The present district of Chittagong Hill Tracts was included in the *Chakla* of Islamabad in 1703, when Murshid Quli Khan reorganised the revenue organisation of the province. The area now constituting the present district of Chittagong Hill Tracts was ceded (along with the present district of Chittagong) by a Treaty, dated, September 27, 1760, to the East India Company by Mir Qasim Ali Khan, the Governor under the nominal control of the Mughal rulers and the transfer of *diwani* by the Mughal emperor in 1765 in favour of the East India Company, finally confirmed this secession. Two domiciled *zamindars* or chieftains known as Chakma *Raja* and Poang (Bohomong) *Raja* were recognised by the Mughal rulers as local collectors of revenue, and these two had also obtained lease of clearly marked tracts of land known as *Kapas Mahal* on promise to pay revenue annually in kind, i. e., cotton. Thus before 1860 the internal administration of the present district of Chittagong Hill Tracts, was in the hands of two hill chiefs, assisted by a number of subordinate village officials. These chiefs were independent of each other. The Chakma tribe and their villages were all under the control of one chief, while the Khyongtha, or *Jhumia* Mughls, inhabiting the villages south of the Karnaphuli river, were under the chief called the Poang *Raja* (the Bohomong). The *Rumis* also acknowledged the supremacy of the Bohomong, and paid him tribute. The Tipprahs recognised the supremacy of the local chiefs and paid to them the prescribed tribute.

Introduction.

In 1782, a second batch of the Arakanese Mugh families immigrated from Palangkyong (a stream flowing into the Kaladan river in Arakan) headed by one Machai and settled in the north of the Karnaphuli river. The East India Company recognised Machai as Mong *Raja* and settled with being a *Kapas Mahal* in the area. The revenue in kind was substituted by a cash of Rs.3,741. Konjai, the third Mong *Raja* in 1801, was head of 387 Palangia Mugh families. Originally, the chiefs collected their revenue from families of their own clan only, irrespective of the place where they might reside. Gradually, however, as their power increased, they collected revenue from other tribes living under their jurisdiction. The Deputy Commissioner reported in 1872, 'the extent of their authority is well represented by easily definable natural bounds'. Government sanction was given in 1873 to a proposal to define the boundaries within which each chief might collect his revenue.

Revenue circles
and their Rajas.

Finally, in 1884, Chakma Revenue Circle, measuring 1,658 sq. miles (excluding Government Reserved Forest of 763 sq. miles) in Rangamati Sadar subdivision, Bohmong Revenue Circle measuring 1444 sq. miles (excluding Government Reserved Forest of 620 miles) in Bandarban subdivision and Mong Revenue Circle measuring 653 sq. miles in Ramgarh subdivision were defined as fixed boundaries. Fourth and fifth revenue circles created, were Sadar subdivisional *Khas mahal* and Sangu subdivisional *Khas mahal*. Experience proved the *Khas mahal* to be a complete failure as an administrative unit and they were abandoned, and in 1900 the district was finally divided into four circles:

- (1) The Chakma Circle including the tract hitherto known as the Sadar subdivisional *khas mahal* occupies the centre and north of the district, and is mainly inhabited by the Chakmas.
- (2) The Bohmong circle including the tract hitherto known as the Sangu subdivisional *khas mahal*, occupies the southern portion of the district and is inhabited by the Mughs and the Kuki tribes.
- (3) The Mong circle in the north-east is peopled principally by the Tipprahs.
- (4) The several Government Forest Reserves.

Collection of
Revenue and
Capitation tax.

The revenue income of these chiefs was a house tax, in varying amounts. It was levied only from the head of each household or family who practised *jhum* cultivation in the hills. "No widower or widow, no unmarried man or maiden, is charged anything, though they may, by inheritance or industry, be the richest persons in their villages, and may cultivate most of the land; but as rich men are never content till they have married, and women stay unmarried no longer than they can help, and the children leave their fathers' houses, marry, and make new households, the families are generally pretty much of the same number and strength, and little substantial injustice is done." Before the British Government interfered with the administration of the chiefs, the obligation to pay tribute was, there is no doubt, a personal obligation attaching to the heads of certain families, and there was no means of avoiding the fulfilment of their obligations, except by escaping beyond the reach of the chief and his subordinates. Formerly this was a matter of very alight difficulty; and the hillman had in flight a safe and easy remedy against oppression or excessive exactions on the part of his chief; but since the British authorities acted in concert with the hill chiefs,

escape became almost impossible. The question had accordingly arisen as to how far the Government should aid the chiefs in the collection of their revenue, or capitation tax (as it was called), from those hill-men, who had fled from the Hill Tracts into the present Chittagong District. Claims had been made on behalf of the chiefs, that those deserters from the hills should be sent back, or if not sent back, that they should be compelled to pay the tax; and that in any case, exemption from the tax should not be given to those hill-men who had left the Hill Tracts merely to practise *jhum* cultivation on Government or private land within the present Chittagong District. The claims made on behalf of the chiefs were refused; and in this and in other ways the tendency of our administration had been to localise their authority. Although the amount of the capitation tax levied by the chiefs was not fixed, the Government officers and courts, on the question coming before them, recognised eight shillings per annum as the proper tax for each house-hold.

The agency for collecting the capitation tax among the Chakmas and also in all other clans then consisted of head-man called *Ahun* (*diwan*) by the Tounjnyas, and in the case of larger clans, the agency consisted of additional officers subordinate to the *diwan*, and called *Khejas*. The *diwan* was entitled to a fixed proportion of the tax he had collected, and retained it and paid the remainder to the chief, together with a yearly offering of first-fruits. He was entitled to be present on marriages and certain festivals, to a part of all fines inflicted for breach of village customs, and to three or four days free labour from the head of every family in his jurisdiction, and to a part of every eatable animal killed in the chase. The *Khejas* were exempted from the payment of revenue, and from giving unpaid labour to the *diwan*; but every year they had to give him a fowl and a fixed amount of rice and liquor. Among the *Jhumia* Mughs, the collecting agent was the *Roaja* or village head and in some cases, but not always, he received from the chief a percentage on the yearly revenue collections. In addition to the payment of the capitation tax, each adult was liable to work for the chief for three days in each year without pay, and an offering of the first-fruits and of the first crops of rice and cotton was made to the chief by each cultivator. Subordinate to the *Roaja*, there are other village officials called *Phaingsi*, *Debaing*, and *Rupsa*. The last one is below the other two in rank; they exercise the same power as the *Roaja* in his absence.

The Revenue
collecting agents
the *Ahun*, *Khejas*
and *Roaja*.

A woman desirous of possessing and wearing certain silver ornaments, such as anklets, *chandrahar* necklace and *bahu*

bracelets, would have to pay the *diwan* a fee of thirty or forty rupees.

Appointment of headman.

Under the rule of the hill chiefs, the headship of clan among the Chakmas, or of a village among the Khyongtha was an office of great importance, and care was taken that no man unfit for the post should be appointed. There was no absolute hereditary right to the office. Among the Mughs, on the death of a *Roaja*, the villagers would nominate a successor (usually the son of the late *Roaja*); but the appointment was in the hands of the chief. Among the Chakmas, the son, if fit, succeeded his father as head-man, but mental or bodily incapacity disqualified him. Of several sons, the fittest one was chosen, and no woman could be appointed to the headship of a clan. On the death of the head of the Chakma tribe about the year 1830, a woman (Kalindi Raneel) was appointed his successor, and since then a marked degradation took place in the office of headman among the Chakmas. The safeguards against the appointment of an unfit officer had been neglected and Government gradually admitted the principle that the headship was hereditary and an inalienable right. The headship came to represent merely the right to collect revenue. It was also ruled by Government, in 1873, that the headmen were to be nominated by the chiefs, and appointed by the Deputy Commissioner, and that they might be chosen from among the *Jhumias*, and might not be outsiders.

Act XXII of 1860.

When the Act XXII of 1860 separated this district from Chittagong district, tolls and waste lands were administered by Superintendent from the very beginning, but the capitation tax settlement was made over by Chittagong Collectorate only in May, 1866, with an arrear uncollected amount of Rs.3,586. Other sources of revenue were non-existent.

The old hill mode of raising revenue was by a house tax varying individually in amount, but levied only from the head of each family who cultivated by *jhum* in the hills. The inequalities and weakness of this mode of taxation were early recognised by the authorities. In August, 1864, Mr. MacGill, the Superintendent, recommended that a census of the hill population should be taken, and that a register of householders should be compiled and that, on the information thus obtained, an equitable settlement should be made with the three principal Chiefs of the hills, authorising them, on payment of a certain sum to Government, to collect the house tax within specified limits. From the earliest times the Chiefs had

collected this tax from certain families irrespective of the part of the country where they might reside. No action was taken on the proposition, and in October, 1867, Captain Lewin recommended that in a revision of the capitation tax the existing village system should be recognised, taking the "family" as the initial unit, and that in each village a headman should be appointed by the Chief, subject to the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner. Captain Lewin further recommended that the Hill Tracts should be divided into three revenue divisions, respectively under the authority of the three Chiefs and that the sum of Rs.4-00 per house should be recognised as the legal tender for payment of *jhum* revenue to the Chiefs.

The then Government of Bengal in 1870, ordered that the *kapas* or *jhum* tax was to be levied only from those who *jhumed*, and the sum of Rs.4-00 was fixed as the legal amount of *jhum* tax payable by each family. It is admitted, however, that there are inequalities in the amount of *jhum* tax paid in the three circles, but this depended on tribal customs and no attempt was made to equalise the tax or prescribe a uniform rate of payment throughout the District, but the courts recognised the sum of Rs.4-00 as a legal tender in full payment for one year's *jhum* tax in one family. This tax was tribute payable to the State; it, in no way, partakes of the nature of rent or bears any relation to the land cultivated. In 1874, the then Government of Bengal decided that the *jhum* tax of Rs.4-00 per family should be taken as the basis of assessment; of this amount Re.1-00 was to be assigned to the headman for the trouble of collection, and Rs.2-00 to the Revenue Circle Chief; the remaining one rupee to be paid by Chief as Government revenue. It was decided not to interfere with the existing arrangements between the Chiefs and their people by which some pay more and some less. The revenue obtained from this source in 1895 was as follows:

Circle Chief.	<i>Jhum</i> Revenue.		
			Rs.
Chakma Chief	...	...	3,155
Bohmong Chief	...	...	2,918
Mong Chief	...	...	2,314
			<hr/>
	Total	...	8,387

This sum was far below the amount that should have been paid. Owing to liberal reductions granted by the Government in past years for services rendered in connection with the

Lushai expeditions, as also for exemptions under the tribal custom by which priests, exorcist bachelors, widowers, widows the diseased and infirm paid no *jhum* tax. The time for a careful revision of the whole system by which revenue was paid under the head of *jhum* tax having arrived, proposals were submitted to Government which, while making due allowance for the rights or privileges of the Chiefs, materially enhanced the revenue payable to Government. The proposed revision was duly sanctioned and for a period of ten years from 1st April, 1905, the revenue payable under this head was as follows:

	Circle Chief.				Jhum Revenue.
					Rs.
Revision of Jhum revenue.	Bohmong Chief	...	...	...	5,772
	Chakma Chief	...	...	...	4,553
	Mong Chief	...	...	...	3,478
	Total	...	...	...	13,803

Plough revenue and rules.

When land is required for reclamation by plough cultivation, a settlement is made with the tenant which is known as an *amalnamah* or lease. A tenant holding such a lease directly under the Government has permanent and heritable rights in the land for which he pays land rent unless there is a contract that his right is not permanent as heritable, subject to the provisions contained in the lease, if any, regarding resumption of the lease in case of contravention of the terms and conditions of the lease. Normally no rent is charged for the first three years. Rate of rent per acre of plough land is Rs.3.00, Rs.2.00 and Re.1.00 for the first, second and third class of land respectively. The rate of rent charged is purposely kept low, so as to offer every encouragement to the people to take up plough cultivation. Great care is necessary in watching these settlement as an unscrupulous tenant will take a settlement, and after getting the benefit of the rent-free period, will attempt to throw up his leave without due reason. Since December 3, 1920, sub-letting has been prohibited. The Deputy Commissioner is competent to sanction sub-lease only in cases of temporary incapacity, such as, minority, illness or temporary absence of the tenant. The Government, should occasion arise, can resume actual possession of the land that has been reclaimed, but has to pay the tenant fair compensation. In 1875, Rs.9,823 was shown as the revenue from cultivated lands, but this included Cox's Bazar, then included in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. As a

matter of fact, the plough revenue of that year from the district was only a few hundreds of rupees. In 1906-07, the sum of Rs.30,943 was realised as rent for plough lands and thier acreage was 20,000. The acreage at present under plough cultivation is divided among the three circles in the following proportion:

Circle.	Area		
	(in acres).		
			Rs.
Chakma Circle	10,000
Bohmong Circle	4,000
Mong Circle	6,000
Total ...			20,000

The plough rent is collected through the agency of the Circle Chief and *mauza* headman, who prepare the *jamabandi* or rent-rolls of their respective *mauzas*. These rent-rolls are checked and approved by the Superintendent, and then returned to the Headmen for collection. The rent collections are paid to the Subdivisional Officer or to the Deputy Commissioner direct as may be instructed. Headmen receive commission on collection at such as may be sanctioned by Government from time to time.

The hillman has become accustomed to the plough, and works it himself: in former years plainsmen were engaged on a monthly wage to plough, plant and harvest; and as recently as ten years ago, it was rare to see a hillman doing his own work, while now it is the exception to see an outsider working in the fields. The hillman has grasped the advantage and management of the plough system of cultivation, but the ordinary man is hampered by lack of his necessary capital, for money is to be borrowed from the *mahajan* at a very high rate of interest. The Government has come to the rescue; liberal advances are made for the purchase of plough cattle or for improvement of land. Plough rules.

Forest revenue is derived by taxing the removal of the forest produce from Government reserves, and also from the open forest, if removed from the district for the purposes of trade and business. Toll stations are placed on the rivers at the points of entry into the Hill Tracts, and as the produce is floated down the rivers it is fixed before being allowed to pass the toll station. These toll stations are officered by the Forest Department, and are situated on the boundary. Forest Revenue.

Grass Revenue. Grass *khola* revenue is obtained by the sale by public auction of the right to cut and remove from certain areas of land a variety of grass that is in general use for thatching houses and is known as *sunm* grass. Hillsides and valleys are found covered with *sunm* grass. This is a coarse species of grass that grows to five and six feet in height; these grass fields are reserved by Government and auctioned yearly. People come up from other districts and the bidding at the sales for the right to cut and remove the grass each year is very keen. In 1870, the revenue from this source amounted to only Rs.500 while in 1907, it amounted to Rs.8,653. This revenue will, however, decline in future years; the grass lands situated in the valleys are rapidly coming under the plough, which will ensure a regular source of revenue and create additional food supply for the people. In addition, corrugated iron, tin sheets and bamboo shingles are coming into general use in the Chittagong district for roofing, thereby ensuring comparative immunity from the risk of destruction of the homestead by fire.

Minor sources of Revenue. Minor sources of revenue during 1967 were from fisheries Rs.325.00, pounds and ferries Rs.7,985.00 and cattled grazing fees Rs.8,896.00.

**Revenue
(1967-68).**

In the Circle, difference is made between "flat land" and "*jhum* land". Like other lands "flat land" is the property of Government. The system of revenue collection discussed earlier applied particularly to "*jhum* land". "*Jhum-land*", in the Hill Tracts, by far exceeds "flat land" in terms of area. It is with the farmer that the Chiefs, Headmen and *karbaris* are primarily concerned.

As a rule, tribal people have no actual concept of land ownership. They use the land, but they do not regard it as a thing that is theirs. They are, therefore, concerned with rights, not with ownership as such. This condition applies to the Hill Tracts, that is, to *jhum-land* for, as has been seen 'flat land', on the contrary, is in part an object of property.

"*Jhum* holdings are not property in the same sense as land on the plains. There are no formal deeds or legal titles. Forked sticks mark the boundaries of the *jhum* plots, and they are respected by other villagers. Disputes over crops or even the theft of crops, may take place but no one will attempt to occupy a plot already cultivated by another villager, or a plot another person has decided to cultivate without obtaining permission".

"The Chengri Valley and the lower part of the Sangu Valley are suitable for "flat land" cultivation. Such land is

regarded as private property and the landowner takes the title of *zemindar*".

In the circle, the Chief has a personal estate as private property. This is entirely different from the rest of the land. The Mong Chief owns 2,000 acres today. This sort of estate passes from father to the eldest son according to the peculiar law of succession applicable to the property as well as to the title. But the Chief has no right of ownership over the rest of the land included in his circle; for that land he is just a revenue collector. It is the same with the headman in the *mouza* and the *karbari* in the village; neither of them owns any land. They are sub-agents of the chief for the purpose of revenue collection. The ordinary tribesman also does not own land but according to tribal notions, he has an inviolable right to use whatever land he sees fit to occupy. But contrary to the others, he pays and does not collect. *Jhum* land "belongs" to one who occupies it first, and registers with the headman. In such a context the state necessarily appears as the ultimate owner of all land. *The Deputy Commissioner is, however, empowered to control and regulate *jhuming* and to issue and enforce such orders as he considers necessary for the same. He may for sufficient reasons declare any area to be closed to *jhuming* (Rule 41 under Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation Orders).

Until the 20th Century, revenue on *jhum* land was not made in money. Until then, it was in kind. The Chief had to sell the grain, for he himself was supposed to pay the Government in cash. Now, *jhum* tax payable at such rates as the Provincial Government may from time to time fix.

In the Hill Tracts, land is the essential source of "revenue". But it is not the only one. For example, professional users of waterways have to pay a tax; so also users of a stall at the town market; etc. Those taxes are generally paid to *bazar chowdhury*, the collector of commercial taxes.

"The revenue of the Hill Tracts consists chiefly of the tribute which is paid to Government by the chiefs of the tribes. A considerable sum of money is also obtained yearly from the tolls levied on behalf of the Government on all spontaneous forest produce brought down by water or river routes to the plains.

"Lands are settled with hillmen upto a maximum of 25 acres.....provided that non-hillmen of the cultivating classes are actually residents in a village, may be given lease

*Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual.

in that village, but no other person up to the maximum of 25 acres. Only the Board of Revenue is competent to grant lease to non-hillmen.*

A lessee has heritable rights in the land but cannot transfer it except with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. When any land, for which a settlement is sanctioned, is required for public purpose, it may be resumed by the Deputy Commissioner. The lessee is given compensation for any structure or hut erected on the land and for standing crops, trees etc. planted by him, but he is not entitled to compensation for the land itself under the provisions of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Land Acquisition) Regulations, 1958. Compensation is payable for lands held on valid titles and which is not resumable under Regulation I of 1900 A. D.

*Hill Tracts Manual, Rule 34.

FIXED LAND REVENUE

Year.	Demand.	Collection.	Percentage on demand of collection.	Collection during current year on account of previous year.	Total of columns 3 & 5.	Remissions on account of calamity of seasons sanctioned during the year.	
						On account of the current year.	On account of the former year.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1947-48	.. 2,08,270	1,89,063	96	11,022	2,00,085	..	..
1948-49	.. 2,37,011	2,19,831	98	13,821	2,33,652	..	..
1949-50	.. 2,44,065	2,28,345	97	9,642	2,27,987	..	..
1950-51	.. 2,33,842	2,29,843	92	9,495	2,39,338	..	..
1951-52	.. 2,80,767	2,33,507	91	18,719	2,57,226	..	..
1952-53	.. 2,97,801	2,46,041	90	11,691	2,68,732	..	..
1953-54	.. 3,23,244	2,47,530	85	28,155	2,57,685	..	..
1954-55	.. 4,46,524	3,52,790	89	47,687	4,00,477	..	..
1955-56	.. 3,63,528	2,77,937	85	35,666	3,13,603	..	..
1956-57	.. 3,73,333	2,82,985	83	29,668	3,12,653	..	..
1957-58	.. 3,75,314	2,73,336	81	31,536	3,04,874	..	..
1958-59	.. 4,23,303	3,05,957	62	43,230	3,49,187	..	..
1959-60	.. 4,14,022	2,85,521	85	69,437	3,54,958	..	..
1960-61	.. 2,65,363	1,68,283	76	36,467	2,03,750	..	..

A few years ago there were a considerable number of forest land settlements in the Hill Tracts. It was found that the toll stations formerly in existence did not suffice to realise revenue on all forest produce; and large tracts through which no river passed and of which the produce was not water-borne, were therefore let on lease. These settlements are not now renewed as they fall due, and nearly all of them have already expired. Till recently there were also sunn grass land settlements covering nominally an area of 10,213 acres of land, but in reality, it was about thirteen times as such. Grass land is not grazing land or open turf, but consists of large stretches of land, often a hundred acres or more, covered with sunn grass. This grass attains a height from ten to twelve feet and appears on land that has been exhausted by *jhum* cultivation. Where it grows nothing else can grow and it prepares the land for plough cultivation by preventing the growth of jungle. If it is left untouched for three years, it dies, and is followed by a short turf called *dhub* grass. It is the custom, however, each year to fire all the sunn grass that is not cut, and it then acquires fresh strength. Sunn grass is used in large quantities in Chittagong and the neighbouring districts for thatching, and a large profit was made by those who held leases of grass *kholas*. The settlements were all granted by the Collector of Chittagong before the Hill Tracts were constituted a separate district, and they have never been cancelled. Of *bonafide* paddy cultivation with the plough in the heart of the Hill Tracts, and not mere extensions of Bengalee border cultivation, there are only two instances in the district, excluding land brought under cultivation by *Jhumias*, who have joined the plough-cultivation movement; these are at Rangamati and at Boradom. The origin of these two cases is described by the Deputy Commissioner as follows: The first arose from Raja Dharm Baksh Khan, chief of the Chakma tribe, having imported, about sixty years ago, a number of Bengalees, and settled them on the Rangamati *hil*, for which he obtained a *noabad* settlement in 1818, which has been extended from time to time. The quantity of land now under cultivation amounts to about 303 acres. The second, at Boradom, is the residence of one of the chief headmen of the Chakmas. In 1874, 226 bighas (75 acres) were found under cultivation. It was originally a grass *khola*, i. e., a tract covered with sunn grass. Nil Chandra, the headman, cultivates most of the land himself, but also permits his feudal vassals to cultivate a part, if they wish; though he charges them no rent, and even lends them his own buffaloes to plough with, they prefer their ancestral mode of *jhuming*.



A dancing party of the Bawn tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER XIII

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

The Chittagong Hill Tracts previously formed part of Chittagong district. It was a part of the Mughal Empire till Mir Qasim Ali Khan ceded Chakla of Chittagong on the 27th September, 1760 to the East India Company. This Chakla (i.e., division) included Chittagong Hill Tracts also. This cession was confirmed by Mir Jafar on his reappointment as *Nawab* on the 10th July, 1763 and again formally by the Mughal Emperor who granted *Diwan* of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company on the 12th August, 1765.

Previously it was part of Chittagong.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts were separated from the district of Chittagong and constituted into a separate district by Act XXII of 1860 which came into force on the 1st August of that year by Notification No. 3302, dated the 20th June, 1860. The new district was placed under the control of an officer with the designation of Superintendent of the Hill Tracts. Captain Magrath was appointed as the first Superintendent in 1860. A few rules were prescribed for his guidance for the administration of civil and criminal justice and the collection of revenue. The only laws in force were Act XXIV of 1860, Act IV (B.C.) of 1863, and two Regulations, V of 1873 and III of 1881. The Superintendent was subordinate to the Commissioner of Chittagong Division.

Chittagong Hill Tracts separated from Chittagong district by Act XXII of 1860.

The headquarters of the district was at first established at Chandraghona, until November, 1868, a village on the present western border of the district on the right bank of the river Karnafuli, about 27 miles up from Chittagong and 33 miles down from Rangamati. Since then Chandraghona was known as the *Noa Shar* (new town) for long.

First Head Quarters at Chandraghona.

After seven years of the creation of the district the functions of the Superintendent were enlarged and he was styled as the Deputy Commissioner in 1867. Captain T.H. Lewin was the first Deputy Commissioner of Chittagong Hill Tracts and he served for two terms, 1867—69 and 1871—74. For administrative reasons the headquarters of the district were transferred from Chandraghona to Rangamati in November, 1868.

Head Quarters transferred to Rangamati.

After the annexation of the Lushai Hills and when there was no more danger of raids by the Kukis, the Hill Tracts lost much of its importance, and in 1891 it was reduced to the status of an independent subdivision and placed in charge of an Assistant

Commissioner, immediately subordinate to the Divisional Commissioner, and was administered under the rules of 1892. Act XXII of 1860 and Bengal Act IV of 1863 were repealed by the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation I of 1900. It was again formed into a district by this Regulation in May of 1900, and the old designation of Superintendent was restored to the Officer-in-charge.

Subdivisional
system corresponding
to circles
of Chiefs.

The district was divided into three subdivisions corresponding to the three Chiefs' circles in-charge of three Subdivisional Officers who were directly responsible to the Deputy Commissioner. The Regulation of 1900 was amended by the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Amendment) Regulation, 1920, redesignating Superintendent as Deputy Commissioner and Assistant Superintendents as Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors. Under the diarchy system of administration, the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts was retained as exclusive responsibility of the Governor assisted by the Executive Council as an excluded area.

Circles and
mouzas.

In 1900, under the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, a set of rules for the administration of the Hill Tracts was published. These rules superseded those previously in force and under them the Hill Tracts were divided into three circles, and these again into *mouzas*. The Bohmong, the Chakma and the Mong Chiefs being charged with the administration of the three circles, remained unchanged as they existed from before the creation of the district, while headmen, who were appointed by the Superintendent of the Hill Tracts in consultation with the Chiefs and the inhabitants of the *mouza*, collected rents under the control and authority of the circle Chiefs.

The Regulations and the rules made thereunder were later amended in accordance with the recommendations of Mr. F. D. Ascoli who was deputed in 1918 to report on the revenue administration of this district. While the collection of revenue was retained with the village headmen under the hereditary Chiefs of Chakmas, Bohmongs and Mongs, the Deputy Commissioner retained the control of all land settlements; and alienation or sub-letting of lands to outsiders since 1920 was strictly forbidden.

Before 1860 and to a less extent since then, the internal administration of the area which now forms the Chittagong Hill Tracts was in the hands of two tribal Chiefs assisted by a number of subordinate village officials. These two Chiefs were independent of each other. The Chakma tribe and their villages were all under the control of one Chief, while the region inhabited by the Kyoungtha or Jhumiya Mughs, whose villages

were on the south of the Karnafuli river, was under the control of the Paong Raja (the Bohmong). Later in 1882, the third Chief known as Mong, head of immigrants from Palong Khyong in Arakan was recognised in the north of Karnafuli river. The third Chief appeared on the scene late to share the burden of tribal administration to form a trio with Chakma and Bohmong.

Under the Chakma Chief the village subordinate consisted, in each clan, of a headman (called *Ahun* or *Dewan*), and in the case of large clans, of additional officers subordinate to the *Dewan* (*Ahun*) known as *Khejas*.

Functions of the
Circle Chiefs.

The Bohmong Chief had headman called *Raoja*. Subordinate to the *Raoja* there were other village officials called *Phaingsi*, *Debaing* and *Rupsa*. The last was below the other two and they exercised the same power as the *Raoja* in his absence. They assisted government as required; in some cases the *Phaingsi*s and *Debaings* were also made arbitrators, even if the *Raoja* was present. All undertook the work of collecting the people or rent, but they were not charged with any watch or ward duties.

The *Dewans* (*Ahun*) and the *Raojas* have many civil and general administrative duties to fulfil besides the collection of revenue. They also decided petty cases and disputes among their own people. The then Deputy Commissioner reported in 1872 that the extent of their authority was well represented by easily definable natural bounds.

The jurisdiction of the Chakma Chief had all along been confined within the limits of the present Rangamati (South) subdivision, that of the Paong or the Bohmong Chief within the limits of the present Bandarban subdivision, and that of the Mong Chief within the limits of the present Ramgarh subdivision.

The *Dewans* all along exercised full criminal and civil powers, death sentences alone being referred to the Chief for confirmation. Later on, more *Dewans* were appointed and they acquired their powers by purchase from the Chief, and naturally the importance of the original four *Dewans* was materially reduced. In the disposal of all cases of civil or criminal nature both parties pay one rupee to the *Dewan*.

Functions of the
Dewans.

Under the rule of the Hill Chiefs, the headship of a clan among the Chakmas or of a village among the Khyoungtha was and still now is an office of great importance, and care

Rules of
succession
to Headship.

was taken to ensure that no unfit person was appointed to such an office. There has been no absolute hereditary right to the office; and among the Khyongthas, on the death of a *Raoja* the villagers nominate a successor (usually the son of the late *Raoja*), but the appointment is in the hands of the Chief. Among the Chakmas, the son, if fit, succeeds his father as headman, but mental or physical incapacity disqualifies him. Amongst several sons, the fittest one is chosen, and no woman could be appointed to the headship of a clan. On the death of a head of the Chakma tribe, Dharma Bakhsh Raj, a woman (Kalindi Rani) was appointed his successor in 1844, and since then a marked degradation took place in the office of headman among the Chakmas. The safeguards against the appointment of an unfit officer were neglected. Later the government admitted the principle that the headship was hereditary and an inalienable right to save it from the tangle of transfer from purchaser to purchaser, resulting from the civil court's decrees. The headmanship was held by the courts to be a *taluk* and as such liable to be sold in execution of a decree for debt, and allowed to be auction purchased by decree-holder non-tribal money-lenders (Bengalee *Mahajans*). It could be held and obtained by woman as heirs. It was in many cases split and subdivided among shareholders who held it on the basis of speculation. The rights of the headman that were frequently put up for sale under the authority of British officers were rights affecting human beings, and although termed *taluks*, they had no connection with any form of land-tenure. Civil Courts recognized these sales, many of which took place in the Munsif's court before 1860, and enforced the right of private purchasers or auction purchasers against the Jhumiyas as the latter seldom, if ever, acquiesced voluntarily in the transfer which invariably took place without their being consulted. When called upon to register themselves under their headman, they ignored the purchase and desired to be enrolled under their former headman or one of his heirs.

The strong conservative feeling of the Chakma people has operated effectually against allowing the headship to pass into the hands to the Bengalees. Although the so-called *taluk* might be bought and sold, the people refused allegiance to a Bengalee headman and the sale of the office of the headman is no longer held valid by the courts. It was resolved by the Government in 1873, that the headman were to be nominated by the Chiefs and appointed by the Deputy Commissioner and that they must be chosen from among the Jhumiyas and must not be non-tribesmen.

The Provincial Government issued the following rules for administration of the Hill Tracts by letter No. 3300, dated, the 30th June, 1867 (summarised below):

Rules of Provincial Government of June, 30, 1867.

- (1) To allow no middleman between the representatives of government and the people, and to debar all mook-teers or attorneys from employment in matters between hillmen and hillmen.
- (2) To attain simplification of procedure and freedom from expenses directing that equity guided by the spirit of the law should be observed, exempting court fees and requiring no cost further than the actual and necessary expenses.
- (3) To administer justice in the simplest and most expeditious manner possible.
- (4) To observe and respect the local customs and prejudices of the people with as little interference as possible between the executive officers and the Chiefs and their tribes.
- (5) The Provincial Government vested the Deputy Commissioner in the same orders with full powers of a magistrate. Appeal against his orders lay and still lies to the Commissioner of the Division. The latter has the final decision in all heinous cases. This wise and beneficial policy has been adhered to, and it formed the basis of all the regulations that have since been framed.

The three Chiefs, Chakma, Bohmong and Mong within their respective circles corresponding to three subdivisions, each under one Chief, regulate the affairs of their respective circles and the actions of the headmen under them. They have the power of imposing fine, of enforcing restitution, and of imprisonment. Similarly, the headmen regulate the affairs of their *mouzas*, having powers of imposing fine up to Rs.25, of enforcing restitution and detention until the Deputy Commissioner's orders are received (*vide* rule 40 of Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual). In 1900 the so-called *taluk* system was abolished by the British Government and the *Dewans* were replaced by a hierarchy of Chiefs, Headmen and *Karbaris* who were entrusted with the responsibility of settling petty criminal and civil cases, besides their function to collect revenue. The codified laws applicable to other parts of the sub-continent were not considered suited to the requirements of the unsophisticated and simple tribesmen of the Hill Tracts. So, the government framed

Chiefs and Headmen : their powers.

an act of simple rules under Regulation I of 1900 which formed the basis of the criminal, civil and revenue administration of the district.

The rules in the Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual made under Regulation I of 1900 were intended to protect the rights and interests of the tribal hillmen, their customs and practices, their local or racial peculiarities and prejudices.

**Criminal and
civil
administration.**

Justice is administered in the simplest and most expeditious manner possible. The customs and prejudices of the people are respected with as little interference with the Chiefs and tribes as practicable. All petty cases involving tribal matters are dealt with by the headman and the Chief, subject to the general control and supervision of the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officers, who hear appeals against their orders and themselves try all important cases and suits. Criminal courts in the district are strictly prohibited to take cognizance of cases or to try them.

There is no Civil Judge in the district nor any Munsif. The cases of civil nature are disposed of by the magistrates. The Commissioner of the Division exercises the power of the Session Judge.

**Amendment
Rules of 1930.**

Some of the rules were amended in 1930. One of the most important amendment is that no permission from the Deputy Commissioner is needed to enter this non-regulated district. This has enabled people of other districts to carry on trade in the Hill Tracts and their number is increasing with the fast development of the district.

**Chittagong Hill
Tracts ceased to
be tribal area
since January,
10, 1964.**

With the commencement of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1963 (Act No. I of 1964), the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts ceased to be a tribal area with effect from the 10th January, 1964, and as such the Acts and Ordinances passed or made after the said date automatically became applicable to this district. But the laws, central as well as provincial, enacted before the 10th January, 1964, were required to be specifically extended to the district. The Government were taking necessary steps in this regard.

**Present
administration.**

The Deputy Commissioner is the head of the administration in the district. In his capacity as District Magistrate he is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the district having powers to try cases and having both original and appellate jurisdiction for trial of tribal cases. As Collector he is responsible for all branches of revenue administration

including collection of revenue and as the principal representative of the Government in the district he is the co-ordinator and supervisor of all development work in his jurisdiction. No less important is his role as Chairman of the District Council and as the Administrator of the Bazar Fund, he being the guide and mentor of all rural uplift and urban welfare work in the district. As Chairman of innumerable official as well as semi-official organisations, institutions and societies, he is the pioneer of new efforts in diverse directions for the welfare of the people of his district. By established tradition in the Hill Tracts the Deputy Commissioner's position is pre-eminent. He is the king-pin of everything. The administration of the Hill Tracts has all along been characterized by humane measures aiming at the welfare of tribal hillmen. The observation of Captain Lewin, the First Deputy Commissioner of the District, is worth noting, "Let us not govern these hills for ourselves, but administer the country for the well-being and happiness of the people dwelling therein. Civilization is the result and not the cause of civilization. What is wanted here is not measure but a man. Place over them an officer gifted with the power of rule, not a mere cog in the great wheel of government, but one tolerant of the failings of his fellow-creatures and yet prompt to see and recognize in them the touch of nature that makes him the whole world's king, but cautious in offending national prejudice; under a guidance like this, let the people by slow degrees civilize themselves. With education open to them, and yet moving under their own laws and customs, they will turn out, not debased and miniature epitomes of Englishmen, but a new noble type of God's creature" (Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Dwellers therein—Lewin 1869). It is perhaps due to the application of these humane measures and affectionate concern for the welfare of the tribal population that the hillman has come to regard the Deputy Commissioner as the custodian of his rights and interests. At present there is one Rehabilitation Officer. He is *ex-officio* Additional Deputy Commissioner belonging to the Civil Service of Pakistan. He holds a separate office under the Deputy Commissioner. Besides, there are three Subdivisional Officers with first class magisterial power, one in each subdivision: Rangamati Sadar (1601 sq. miles), Bandarban subdivision (1,765 sq. miles) and Ramgarh subdivision (1,727 sq. miles). The Subdivisional Officers exercise their powers and functions in criminal administration, revenue collection and development works under Works Programme in their respective jurisdiction under the Deputy Commissioner.

In Rangamati Sadar subdivision there are three Deputy Magistrates. The Subdivisional Officer exercises powers under section 30, Cr. P.C. The second officer is a first class magistrate with the powers under section 193B of the Sea Customs Act and is also the Protocol Officer. The other officer is with second class magisterial powers, and he performs the functions of the Treasury Officer. In Sadar subdivision there is another Deputy Magistrate functioning as Assistant Director of Basic Democracies. He is in-charge of the District Council for Works Programme and is also in-charge of conducting elections.

In Ramgarh subdivision there are two Deputy Magistrates, including the Subdivisional Officer who has powers under sections 30 and 260, Cr. P.C. and also the powers to try smuggling cases. The other Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector exercises second class magisterial powers. In Bandarban subdivision, besides the Subdivisional Officer who exercises powers under section 30, Cr. P.C., there is another Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector with first class magisterial powers and with powers under section 193 of the Sea Customs Act. There are four Welfare Officers in the district, of whom one is at Rangamati, two are at Ramgarh—one for general work and the other for the Tipprah community, and the 4th one is at Bandarban subdivision, all placed under the supervision of the Subdivisional Officer with the function of maintaining liaison between the tribal people and the government with the intention to look after the welfare of the tribal people in all aspects.

The institution of the office of the Circle Officer was introduced in the Hill Tracts in 1962 while in the rest of the province the office was created as far back as 1919. There are eleven Circle Officers (Development), one in each thana. The main function of the Circle Officers (Development) is the implementation of the development works under Works Programme with the help of the Union Council Chairmen in their respective jurisdiction under the supervision of the Subdivisional Officer.

Civil Justice.

The number of civil suits in this district is very low. The people generally avoid courts. The suits relate mostly to money or movable property. A bulk of these are disposed of at initial stages. Figures of civil suits in the following representative years, 1911, 1914, 1917, 1919, 1924, 1928 and 1934 are shown below:

The total number of suits instituted during 1911 in the civil courts in the Chittagong Hill Tracts was 370. The suits were for money or movable property. The total number of civil suits for disposal in the year was 484 including 114 pending.

from previous year. The number disposed of was 328. Of these, 40 suits were contested and three were disposed of by arbitration. The number of miscellaneous cases was 1,809, of which 953 were disposed of by arbitration at the initial stage. The total number of appeals from decrees was 61 and the number disposed of was 42. Out of nine miscellaneous appeals, eight were decided. One thousand one hundred and twenty two applications were made for execution of decrees, of which 869 were disposed of.

The total number of suits instituted during 1914 in the civil courts was 596. The suits were for money or movable property. The total number of civil suits for disposal was 690, including 94 pending from previous year. Of these suits, 65 were contested and 191 were disposed of without trial. The number pending at the close of the year was 89. The number of miscellaneous cases was 1,506. Of these 1,131 were decreed *ex-parte* and 221 were pending at the close of the year. The total number of appeals from decrees was 42, and the number disposed of was 32. Four miscellaneous appeals were preferred, and all were disposed of. 1,179 applications were made for execution of decrees out of which 375 were pending at the close of the year.

The total number of suits instituted during 1917 in the civil courts was 316. Of these, 310 were for money or movable property. The total number of civil suits for disposal was 434 including 118 pending from previous year. Of these suits, 85 were contested and 158 were disposed of without trial. The number pending at the end of the year was 16. The number of miscellaneous cases was 2,193. Of these, 1,394 were decreed *ex-parte* and 410 were pending at the close of the year. The total number of appeals from decrees was 78, and the number disposed of was 71. Seven miscellaneous appeals were preferred and none remained pending at the end of the year. 895 applications were made for execution of decrees out of which 257 were pending at the end of the year.

In 1919 the total number of civil suits instituted was 337. Of these suits 334 were for money or movable property. The total number of civil suits for disposal was 375, including 38 pending from previous year. Of these suits 83 were contested and 100 were disposed of without trial. The number of suits pending at the end of the year was 37. The number of miscellaneous cases was 1,651. Of these, 878 were decreed *ex-parte* and 362 were pending at the close of the year. The total number of appeals from decrees was 14 and the number

disposed of was 40. Thirty miscellaneous appeals were preferred, out of which 4 remained pending at the end of the year. 931 applications were made for execution of decrees, out of which 147 were pending at the end of the year.

The total number of civil suits instituted during the year 1924 in the civil courts was 4,416 of which 412 were for money or movable property and 4 were matrimonial suits. The total number of civil suits for disposal was 487. Of these, 74 were contested and 137 were disposed of without trial, the number pending at the close of the year being 56. The total number of appeals from decrees was 45. Of these, 43 were disposed of. The number of miscellaneous appeals was 71 of which 63 were disposed of. The number of applications for execution of decrees was 1,179 out of which 216 were pending at the close of the year.

In 1928 eight hundred suits were instituted. The total value of these suits was Rs.1,20,012. Of the 913 suits before the courts all but 88 were disposed of. In 1934, 435 civil suits were instituted. The total value of these suits was Rs. 57,506-6 annas. Of the 601 suits before the courts all but 99 were disposed of.

Criminal Justice.

The figures of criminal cases are conspicuously low in this district. Figures of the following representative years, 1911, 1914, 1917, 1919, 1928, 1934 and 1966 are given below:

Theft, criminal force, assault, trespass and offences under special laws are rather notable. The number of cases brought to trial during 1911 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts was 113. The total number of cases disposed of was 90. The number of persons under trial including those who had been awaiting trial from the preceding year was 231, of which 108 were acquitted or discharged and 87 convicted. Of the cases brought to trial, 6 were for criminal force and assault, 8 for theft, 8 for criminal trespass and 19 for offences under special and local laws. The total number of appellants and applicants for revision was 23 of which ten were wholly or partly successful.

The number of cases brought to trial during 1914 was 154. The total number of cases disposed of was 138. The number of witnesses examined was 625. The total number of persons under trial, including those awaiting trial from the preceding year was 366. Of these, 199 were acquitted or discharged, and 142 convicted. Of the cases brought to trial 29 were for theft, 12 for criminal trespass and 36 for offences under special and local laws. The total number of appeals and applications for revision was 40 of which 27 were wholly or partly successful.

The number of cases brought to trial during 1917 was 161. The total number of cases disposed of was 154. The number of witnesses examined was 808. The total number of persons under trial, including those awaiting trial from the previous year was 380. Of these 193 persons were acquitted or discharged and 167 convicted. Of the cases brought to trial, 33 were for theft, 11 for criminal trespass and 31 for offences under special and local laws. The total number of appellants and applicants for revision was 67, of them 33 were wholly or partly successful.

The number of cases brought to trial during 1919 was 176. The total number of cases disposed of was 120. The number of witnesses examined was 507. The total number of persons under trial including those awaiting trial from the previous year was 248. Of these 147 were acquitted or discharged and 89 convicted. Of the cases brought to trial, 29 were for theft, 13 for criminal trespass and 20 for offences under special and local laws. The total number of appellants and applicants for revision was 40 of whom 13 were wholly or partly successful.

The number of offences reported during the year 1928 was 513, of which 301 cases were returned as true, and 279 cases were brought to trial. Five hundred and forty eight persons were under trial. Of these, 352 were acquitted or discharged and 145 were convicted. In the cases ending in conviction, one person was sentenced to transportation for life, and nine were sentenced to imprisonment of more than six months. In other cases punishment was less. Four persons were whipped for offences under section 380 of the Pakistan Penal Code.

The number of offences reported during the year 1934 was 368, of these 230 were returned as true and 227 were brought to trial. 518 persons were under trial and of these 214 were acquitted or discharged and 187 convicted. In the cases ending in conviction, 27 persons were sentenced to imprisonment for more than six months. In 1966 the number of criminal cases instituted was 2,986, the number disposed of was 2,428 and the number remaining pending at the end of the year was 558.

The Criminal propensity of the hill people is conspicuously low and negligible. There are very few dacoities and burglaries committed; there is little scope for organized resistance to dacoits in thinly populated villages. Of the tribal people the Khumi tribes are ferocious and they are found often to commit dacoity. Burglary was actually unknown in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. With the gradual infiltration of the people from the neighbouring districts with criminal antecedents crime figures are rising gradually.

Crimes.

In 1963 the crime figures were as given here: dacoity 19 robbery 12, burglary 68, theft 106, murder 10, rioting 18 and others 191 totalling 424. In 1964, cases of dacoity numbered 38, robbery 22, burglary 62, theft 92, murder 7, rioting 20 and others 243 totalling 484. In 1965, dacoity numbered 16, robbery 11, burglary 54, theft 132, murder 9, rioting 10 and others 443, and the total number was 675.

Non-judicial Stamps.

Sale-proceeds of judicial and non-judicial stamps for the year 1964-65 were as follows: court fee stamps Rs.2,737.22, service postage stamps Rs.61,972.92, ordinary postage stamps Rs.2,147.94, air mail stamps and stationeries Rs.444.00 and central excise revenue stamps Rs.500.00.

In 1965-66 sale proceeds of court fee stamps were Rs.4,625 service postage stamps Rs.53,695.62 and ordinary postage Rs.12,770.38.

Rehabilitation.

The organisation of the office of Rehabilitation scheme is headed by one Rehabilitation Officer of Paksitan Civil Service. He is also the *ex-officio* Additional Deputy Commissioner of Chittagong Hill Tracts. He is in-charge of rehabilitation of about one lakh people, whose hearth and home have been submerged by water due to the construction of Kaptai Dam on the Karnafuli river in 1962. Under the Rehabilitation Officer there are five Assistant Rehabilitation Officers of East Pakistan Civil Service; two are first class magistrates, one being a full time magistrate who is also the officer-in-charge of settlement and magistrate of mobile court at Marishya and the other is a part-time magistrate. Of the remaining three Assistant Rehabilitation Officers two are also part-time magistrates, two with second class power and the other one is exclusively engaged in work under rehabilitation scheme. Besides these, there is one Assistant Director of Agriculture with headquarters at Rangamati, one Agricultural Overseer posted at Kamalchhari, 3 Agricultural Assistants posted at Rangamati and 10 Agricultural Assistants (for plantation) of whom 4 are at Rangamati, 2 at Marishya, 2 at Naniarchar, and 2 at Main valley. There are 14 Assistant Welfare Officers, of whom 10 are at Rangamati, 3 are at Marishya and one is at Naniarchar. There are 2 Kanungoes, one is at Rangamati and the other is at Marishya. There are 6 Amins, of whom 2 are at Marishya and 4 at Rangamati headquarters.

Settlement Department.

The Settlement department is headed by one officer-in-charge who is also an Assistant Rehabilitation Officer under whom there are 4 Kanungoes. Of these four, there are two District Kanungoes at Rangamati headquarters, one for survey operation

of the whole district and the other for the district headquarters only. There is one Kanungo at Bandarban and another Kanungo for Ramgarh subdivision. There are 14 Amins in the district; 10 at Rangamati headquarters, 3 at Ramgarh and 1 at Bandarban. Of these 14 Amins, 3 are *tahsildars* of whom 2 are at Sadar, and 1 at Ramgarh. The Amins of Sadar are under the officer-in-charge, settlement, and the Amins at subdivisions are under the respective Subdivisional Officers.

Due to the construction of a Dam on the Karnafuli river an area of 253 sq. miles was submerged and about 1 lakh of people were displaced. The Board of Revenue established a compensation office at Kaptai in 1959 headed by one Special Officer for payment of compensation to the displaced persons with three Assistant Compensation Officers belonging to the East Pakistan Civil Service. This office paid Rs.4,37,96,926.00 to the displaced persons as compensation money and completed the payment of compensation in March 1967. Compensation.

The police administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts was merged in the general administration of the district, and the Deputy Commissioner was the *ex-officio* Superintendent of Police and the Commissioner of Chittagong division was the *ex-officio* Inspector-General until 1949. The post of an Assistant Commissioner for helping the Deputy Commissioner in police administration was created under Home (Appointment) Department, Notification No.4299-A, dated the 4th December, 1940. The post of a Superintendent of Police was created by the Government of East Bengal, Home (G.A.& Apptt.) Department No.2064, dated the 2nd May, 1949 by which one Assistant Commissioner was also appointed and the police office was separated from the Deputy Commissioner's general office. A separate police office was constructed in 1950. Police.

At present (1967) the police administration of the district is headed by one Superintendent of Police. Under whom there are three Deputy Superintendents of Police, one is stationed at Kaptai, and the other two belong to Special Branch. There are 7 Inspectors, three are Circle Inspectors, one stationed at each subdivision, one Inspector is in the reserve office and the other is the Office Inspector. There are 34 Sub-Inspectors. The total strength of the police force in the district is 603 including the Superintendent of Police and Deputy Superintendents of Police.

There are eleven police-stations in the district.

In Rangamati Sadar subdivision there are four thanas:

- (1) Kotwali P.S., 644 sq. miles in area.
- (2) Barakal P.S., 510 sq. miles in area.
- (3) Chandraghona P.S., 266 sq. miles in area.
- (4) Langadu P.S., 181 sq. miles in area.

In Ramgarh subdivision there are three thanas:

- (1) Ramgarh P.S., 349 sq. miles in area.
- (2) Mahalchhari P.S., 402 sq. miles in area.
- (3) Dighinala P.S., 976 miles in area.

In Bandarban subdivision there are four thanas:

- (1) Bandarban P.S., 346 sq. miles in area.
- (2) Ramu P.S., 514 sq. miles in area.
- (3) Lama P.S., 724 sq. miles in area.
- (4) Naikhongchhari P.S., 188 sq. miles in area.

Anti-Corruption.

The Anti-Corruption office is headed by one District Anti-Corruption Officer stationed at Rangamati. Under him there are one Inspector, three Assistant Inspectors, one Assistant Sub-Inspector and 7 constables, all stationed at Rangamati. Generally misappropriation of compensation money paid to the displaced persons for the submersion due to Kaptai Dam is one of the main items in the list of corruption cases. Besides, cheating, forgery of documents, bribery are also found in the district.

The figures of detections of crimes in 1964 are as given here: Enforcement cases numbered 3, bribery 2, cheating 19 and criminal misappropriation 5. In 1965, cases of bribery numbered 1, cases of cheating 15 and criminal misappropriation 15. In 1966, cases of bribery numbered 2, cheating 5 and criminal misappropriation 8.

Jail.

The Rangamati sub-jail was established in 1924 and before that time convicts of short-term imprisonment were kept in the lock up at Kotwali thana along with the under-trial prisoners. Other convicts were sent to Chittagong jail. At present there is no district jail in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. There is one sub-jail at Rangamati with Subdivisional Officer, Sa'ar as *ex-officio* Superintendent. Under him there are one Medical Officer, one Head Warder and five warders. This sub-jail has a capacity for 25 prisoners: 10 male convicts, 10 under-trial prisoners and 5 female prisoners.

The daily average figure of prisoners in 1966 is given here: Convicts are 7.71; 7.36 are male and 35 females, and under-trial persons were 58.74; 58.55 male and .19 female.

The jail is overcrowded. The number of prisoners at the beginning of the year 1966 was as given here: Convicts male 24, female 3 and under trial male 55, female 1. The number of those admitted throughout the year 1966 was as given here: Convicts male 172, female 2, and under-trial male 356 and female 6. The number of prisoners discharged from all cases throughout the year 1966 was as given here: Released convicts 42, transferred to other jail 150 + 5, under-trial 331 + 6. Of these, 25 were transferred to other jails.

There is one hospital ward inside the sub-jail with a capacity of four prisoners. The daily average figure of sick persons is .01.

There are one Muslim and one Buddhist religious instructors for the prisoners. The average cost of maintenance per head was Rs.766.65. The total expenditure of this sub-jail in 1966 was Rs.50,805.75.

There is a police lock-up at Ramgarh under the supervision of the local police.

There are 12 Sub-Registrars' offices in the district, located at Rangamati Sadar, Bandarban, Ramgarh, Mahalchhari, Dighinala, Langadu, Barkal, South Kassalong Range, Ruma, Lama, Naikhongchhari and Chandraghona. Of these offices, Rangamati, Bandarban and Ramgarh Sub-Registrars' offices are in-charge of the respective Subdivisional Officers, and that in the Kassalong Range is in-charge of a Range Officer and the other Sub-Registrars' offices at the thana headquarters are in-charge of respective officers in-charge of the thana. All these Sub-Registrars are part-time officials in these offices.

Registration

The total number of different types of document registered in 1966 is shown here: Sale deeds numbered 122, mortgage deeds 248, deed of gift 27, deeds of power of attorney 49, partnership agreement deeds 35, security bond 48, agreement deeds 16 and loan bonds 7. The total number of documents registered was 552. The total amount of fees realised was Rs.267.00, remuneration paid to the copyists was Rs.64.71 and the balance was Rs.202.29. In the past, figures were very low. For increase in population there has been a remarkable rise in the figures.

Education.

The District Education office is headed by one District Education Officer-in-charge of Secondary Education, under him there is one District Inspector of Schools-in charge of primary education.

There are four Thana Education Officers in the district, one is in the North Circle with headquarters at Rangamati, in-charge of Ramgarh, Mahalchari and part of Rangamati thana; one in the South Circle with headquarters at Rangamati in-charge of Barkal, Chandraghona and part of Rangamati thana; one posted at Dighinala in charge of Dighinala and Langadu thanas, and the other Thana Education Officer is posted at Bandarban in-charge of the thanas under Bandarban sub-division. There are two Assistant Sub-Inspectors of schools, one is at Barkal thana and the other at Rangamati.

Civil Defence.

The Civil Defence office is headed by the Deputy Commissioner Chittagong Hill Tracts. He is the *ex-officio* Controller of Civil Defence. So long there was no Civil Defence office in the district. With the outbreak of war with India in September 1965 this office was established in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Under the Controller of Civil Defence there is one Civil Defence trained E.P.C.S. Officer designated as Deputy Controller of Civil Defence. There are two honorary Civil Defence Instructors. The people were hardly ever civil defence-minded as there was no such organisation in the past. Within seven days of the declaration of war this organization started to train public volunteers and workers very efficiently. They trained up sixteen fire fighting squads, fifteen reserve squads, and 16 first aid parties with 580 volunteers and workers. There were five warden posts in Rangamati town.

During the war emergency period, 10,000 people were enrolled as volunteers within the organisation to work under various village defence parties in the district to combat the activities of the enemy agents, paratroopers and for instructing the general mass.

District Public Relations Officer.

The Public Relations office is headed by one District Public Relations Officer under the Information Department, Government of East Pakistan. The post of District Public Relations Officer was created in the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts, *vide* G.O. No. 4959/1 (14) Pub. F. and 4960/1(9) Pub. F., dated the 12th June, 1958. Under the District Public Relations Officer there are three Subdivisional Public Relations Officers, one for each subdivision. The posts were created, *vide* G.O. No. 3096, Pub., dated the 15th December, 1951 and No. 1977, Pub., dated the 6th November, 1954. Before the creation of the post

of District Public Relations Officer all the Subdivisional Public Relations Officers were under the supervision of the District Public Relations Officer, Chittagong, and under the administrative control of the Deputy Commissioner, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Subdivisional Officers of Rangamati, Bandarban and Ramgarh respectively. The District Public Relations Officer, Chittagong, was exonerated from his supervisory duty while the post of District Public Relations Officer was created for the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

This office is the mouthpiece of the Government, as it is the bridge maker in between the Government and the public. It keeps them informed of the activities of the government through booklets, posters, pamphlets and leaflets. From time to time this office also attends to duties connected with the visits by the V.I.P's to this district. This office informs the Information Department of the various developmental activities in the district. This office also publicises the manifold government activities formulated through the audio-visual media of documentary film shows, in all nooks and corners of the district in educating the mass with the working of the government.

This office is headed by one District Controller of Food. **Food Department.** Under him there are two Subdivisional Controllers of Food, one for Sadar and the other for Ramgarh. The functions of this office are procurement and distribution of foodgrains. There are three Circle Inspectors, one for each subdivision. There are twelve Inspectors of Food, one in each of the following places—Rangamati Sadar, Barkal, Langadu, Kaptai, Ramgarh, Dighinala, Khagrachhari, Bandarban, Ramu, Naikohngchhari, Lama and the other one is Inspector-cum-officer-in-charge of Local Supply Depot, Rangamati. There are eleven storekeepers of Local Supply Department, one in each of the following places: at Barkal, Kaptai, Chandraghona, Shis'ak Mukh, Bagaichhari, Bandarban, Mahalchhari, Khagrachhari, Panchhari, Tabalchhari and Ramgarh.

In 1966 the allotment of rice was 76,211 mds., wheat 67,191 mds., and the off-take of rice and wheat was 1,02,438 mds. and 48,617 mds. respectively. In 1967 from January to March the allotment of rice was 6,536 mds., wheat 10,860 mds. and maize 1,268 mds. and the off-take of rice was 11,098 mds. and wheat 8,061 mds.

This department formerly known as the P.W. Department was under a District Engineer with the Deputy Commissioner as *ex-officio* Executive Engineer. But by Revenue Department **Communication and Buildings Department.**

(excluded areas) letter No. 3393-Ex-A., dated the 12th March 1930, the Department was placed under the control of Executive Engineer, Chittagong Division, as a subdivision with a Subdivisional Officer (Engineering) stationed at Rangamati with effect from 1st April 1930. It was again placed under the control of the Deputy Commissioner as an *ex-officio* Executive Engineer with effect from 1st September 1939 with a District Engineer subordinate to him under Government Order No. 8808 A., dated the 11th August, 1939.

In 1962 these C. & B. Department was bifurcated and two Executive Engineers were placed at Chittagong Hill Tracts, one for Buildings and the other for Roads and Highways with separate office.

At present (1967) under the Executive Engineer (Buildings) there are two Assistant Engineers. One is stationed at Khagrachari and the other at Rangamati. There are nine Sectional Officers posted at the following stations: one at Rangamati, two at Chandraghona, one at Bandarban, one at Marishya, one at Langadu, one at Mahalchhari, one at Khagrachhari and one at Ramgarh.

Under the Executive Engineer, Roads and Highways Division there is one Assistant Engineer (S.D.O.) stationed at Rangamati with four Sectional Officers, of whom two are at Rangamati, one at Khagrachhari and one at Barkal.

Provincial Excise.

This office is headed by one Inspector of Provincial Excise at Rangamati under the control of the Superintendent, Provincial Excise, Chittagong. Under the Inspector there are two Sub-Inspectors, one is stationed at Rangamati and the other at Bandarban. There are three petty officers, one is at Bandarban, one at Ruma and the other at Lama.

Almost all the houses of the hill people manufacture liquor. Only in case of opium permit is issued. But in other cases no permit is required. In 1965-66 in the combined shop of opium and *ganja* 748 persons were found to be consumers of opium.

Chief Medical Officer.

The office of the Chief Medical Officer was originally the office of the District Health Officer established in 1941 which dealt only with the preventive side. But in 1958 the office of the District Health Officer was placed under the Chief Medical Officer combining both the preventive and the curative side (excluding the Rangamati Sadar Hospital and the Police Hospital). Under the Chief Medical Officer there are three

Subdivisional Medical Officers of Health in three subdivisions, namely, Rangamati, Ramgarh and Bandarban in preventive side, and also there are three Subdivisional Medical Officers of whom one is at Ramgarh, one at Bandarban and one Assistant Surgeon at Rangamati Sadar placed in curative side. There are 19 Medical Officers (eight gazetted and 11 non-gazetted); of them 11 are posted, one in each thana headquarters, and of the rest two are in two Rural Health centres: one at Tabalchhari and Marishya, one at T.B. Clinic, Rangamati, one at School Health Clinic, Rangamati, one at Khagrachhari, one at Manikchhari, one at Lama and one at Na khongchhari. They deal with both the preventive and the curative sides. There are eleven Sanitary Inspectors, one in each thana, 7 health assistants at seven dispensaries and 29 health assistants for small-pox eradication work. In two Rural Health Centres there are two female Medical Officers and two mid-wives. These Health Centres deal with both preventive and curative sides.

The Civil Surgeon is in-charge of the Sadar Hospital, Rangamati and the District Police Hospital. There are one Assistant Surgeon, one Sub-Assistant Surgeon and one Lady Sub-Assistant Surgeon at Sadar Hospital and one Sub-Assistant Surgeon at Police Hospital. Civil Surgeon.

The District Police Hospital is under the Civil Surgeon with one Sub-Assistant Surgeon and one part-time Lady Sub-Assistant Surgeon in the staff. Police Hospital.

There is one outdoor T.B. Clinic established in 1965. It is headed by one Medical Officer under the supervisory control of the Chief Medical Officer, Rangamati. Under the Medical Officer there are one B.C.G. Technician, one X-Ray Technician, one Laboratory Technician, one Junior Staff Nurse, two Lady Home Visitors and one compounder. T. B. Clinic.

The office is headed by one Assistant Engineer with three Overseers, one for each subdivision. The activity of the office is to supply drinking water in the town areas and to sink tube-wells in the rural areas of Khagrachhari, Marishya model town, Rangamati and Tabalchhari. Public Health Engineering.

The Fire Service station was established during the September War of 1965. It is headed by one leader with four firemen. There was no fire incident since its establishment. Fire Service.

The Directorate of Live-Stock Services is represented by one District Animal Husbandry Officer. There are four Subdivisional Animal Husbandry Officers of whom two are at Ramgarh, one in-charge of hospital and the other is in-charge of disease Live Stock.

control, one at Rangamati in-charge of disease control and one at Bandarban in-charge of both disease control and a hospital. In Sadar subdivision, under Chandraghona P.S. there is one Thana Animal Husbandry Officer, two Veterinary Field Assistants, one compounder and one poultry technician. Under Kotwali P.S. there are two Veterinary Field Assistants and one Thana Live-Stock Assistant. At Barkal there is one Veterinary Field Assistant only, and at Langadu there is one Thana Animal Husbandry Officer and one Veterinary Field Assistant whose offices have been shifted to Marishya after the submersion. In Ramgarh there is no Veterinary Field Assistant. This office is being shifted to Khagrachhari, and there is one Animal Husbandry Officer with one compounder and one poultry technician. At Dighinala there is one Thana Animal Husbandry Officer with one Veterinary Field Assistant, one compounder and one poultry technician. There is a thana dispensary also.

In Bandarban and Ramu there are two Veterinary Field Assistants, one at each place. In each of the stations under Lama and Naikhongchhari P.S. there is one Thana Animal Husbandry Officer with one Veterinary Field Assistant. There is one veterinary dispensary also at each of these places.

Agriculture.

The Directorate of Agriculture is represented by one District Agricultural Officer. Under him there are three Subdivisional Agricultural Officers with twelve Thana Agricultural Officers, one in each thana including one for leave reserve; 39 Union Assistants, one placed in each union. There are eleven Plant Protection Assistants, eleven spray mechanics and fifteen Mukadammas, one placed in each thana including 3 additional Mukadammas. There are one Field man and one Agricultural overseer. There is also one Statistical Inspector at Rangamati district headquarters.

Agriculture Marketing.

This office was established in 1955 with one Market Investigator. In 1960 a District Marketing Officer was posted. In 1964 three market Investigators were appointed at Rangamati, Ramgarh and Bandarban, one in each. In 1966 hide grading party was appointed with one grader in-charge along with 2 flayers and one butcher with the function of hide and bone preservation, the latter with a view to making fertilizers. The party moves from place to place where animals are slaughtered. The main objective of the office is to make survey and hold enquiry covering all agricultural and animal products.

Fisheries.

Under the Directorate of Fisheries there is a Fresh Water Fisheries Research Sub-station at Kaptai. It was established in May 1964. This is a part of Fresh Water Fisheries Research

Station at Chandpur, Comilla. This Research sub-station is headed by one Research Officer (Limnology). Under him there is one Assistant Research Officer and one Field Assistant.

This office is headed by one Project Officer stationed at Rangamati. But originally it was under the Directorate of Fisheries with the headquarters at Kaptai, established in 1960-61. In June 1965 it was placed under the Fisheries Development Corporation. Under this Project Officer there are one Assistant Project Officer, two sales supervisors, one ice plant engineer and six motor drivers. This project has provided a means of subsidiary income to the displaced persons whose hearth and home were submerged by the Kaptai Dam.

East Pakistan
Fisheries
Development
Corporation.

Under the Forest Department there are three Divisional Forest Offices at North Division, South Division and Jhum Control Division.

The Divisional Forest Office, North Division, was established at Rangamati in 1954-55. The Office is headed by one Divisional Forest Officer. Under him there are two Subdivisional Forest Officers; one is in-charge of Bagaihat subdivision and the other is in-charge of Pablakhali and Mainimukh subdivisions. In this Division there are eight Range Officers, one in-charge of each Range. The Range Offices are at Lakshmi Chhari with one Range Officer and three foresters, at Mosalong with one Range Officer and one forester, at Bagaihat (Kassalong Plantation Range) with one Range Officer, one Deputy Ranger and five foresters, at South Kas along with two Range Officers, five Deputy Rangers and six foresters, at Naraisari with one Range Officer and one forester, at the Game Sanctuary Range with one Range Officer of South Kassalong Range with two foresters, at Shishak with one Range Officer, two Deputy Rangers, and 6 foresters. The revenue receipts from this Division amounted in 1964-65 to Rs.24,09,701.56 and in 1965-66 it was Rs.19,15,09.47.

North Division.

The Divisional Forest Office, South Division, was established in 1952-53. The Office is headed by one Divisional Forest Officer. Under him there is one Assistant Conservator of Forest stationed at Kaptai and two senior Forest Rangers: one at Chandraghona Paper Mill and the other at Maskubha. There are six Forest Rangers under him, three of whom are at Rainkhyong, two at Kaptai and one at Firingibazar, Chittagong. Besides, there are nine Deputy Forest Rangers. Four of them are at Rainkhyong, one at Barkal, one at Chandraghona, one at Rangamati and one at Manikchhari. In the last range there are

South Division

18 Foresters, 9 are at Rainkhyong, 6 at Kaptai, 1 at Chittagong, 1 at Rainkhyong mill and one at Prinkong.

**Jhum Control
Division.**

This office is headed by one Divisional Forest Officer. Under him there is one Senior Forest Ranger attached to the headquarters at Rangamati. There are five Range Officers with one Forest Ranger Grade I in each.

In each Range there are several beats under one Deputy Ranger. The Ranges with their beats are:—Khashkhali Range with Pomara Beat, Kalampoli Beat with Khashkhali Nursery Beat. Hazachhari Range is with the Hazachhari Nursery Beat, Panchari Beat, and Lamuchhari Beat. Ultachhari Range is with Ultachhari Nursery Beat, Yaringchhari Beat and Bhangmuri Beat. Tinkunia Range is with Bahalkali Nursery Beat, Bahalkali Beat and Subadanpara Beat. Kutubdia Range is with Harinchora beat, Harinchora Nursery Beat, Barzatali Beat and Golakhan Beat.

There are seven foresters, two at Rangamati headquarters, one at Khashkhali, one at Ultachhari, one at Hazachhari, one at Tinkunia and one at Kutubdia.

**The Forest
Industrial
Development
Corporation.**

There is one timber extraction project at Kaptai which was originally taken up by Forest Department in 1955. Subsequently this scheme was transferred to F. I. D. C. in February, 1960, with the object to extract all utilizable forest products by machine rapidly from most inaccessible areas of Kassalong and Rainkhyong Reserve Forests of the Chittagong Hill Tracts to feed the wood based industries of the province. Accordingly the F. I. D. C. Timber Extraction Project has undertaken a comprehensive programme to extract all utilizable forest products from this region.

This project is headed by one Project Manager with headquarters at Kaptai. There are one Deputy Director, two Mechanical Engineers and one Radio Telephone Inspector attached to the Manager's office. Under the Project Manager for transportation of timber there are one Deputy Director and one Assistant Superintendent; for equipment maintenance and store there is one Assistant Director with one Mechanical Superintendent at Kaptai. At Bagaihat Extraction Centre and river bank depot there are one Field Superintendent, one Mechanical Superintendent, four Supervisors, one Radio Telephone Operator and one Mechanic; at Shishak Extraction Centre and river bank depot there are one Assistant Superintendent and one Assistant Supervisor; at Pablakhali Road Extraction Centre and river bank depot there are one Assistant Director, one Field Superintendent,

one Mechanical Superintendent, one Assistant Superintendent and one Radio-Telephone Operator; at Mainimukh Centre there is one Superintendent; at Alikhyong Extraction Centre and river bank depot there is one Field Superintendent with two Supervisors, and at timber processing complex at Kaptai there are one Civil Engineer and one Assistant Supervisor.

From 1960 to 1967 (up to February) this project extracted 1,20,086 tons (1 ton=50 cft.) of timber. The total income of the project in 1960-61 to 1964-65 was Rs. 130.27 lakhs, in 1965-66, Rs. 32.77 lakhs and in 1966-67 (up to February 1967) Rs. 19.00 lakhs.

The Co-operative movement dates back from 17-2-37 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The district was tagged with Chittagong district, and from July 1963 it was separated and an Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies with headquarters at Rangamati was posted for this district. There are two Subdivisional Co-operative Officers, one stationed at Rangamati Sadar and the other at Ramgarh subdivision. Co-operative Societies.

There are five Co-operative Inspectors. Three Inspectors are at Sadar: one attached to headquarters, one for C. and M. scheme and one for fishery; one at Ramgarh and one at Bandarban, both for C. and M. There are nine Thana Co-operative Officers, of whom four are stationed at the places Mahalchhari, Rangamati, Chandraghona and Barkal of Sadar subdivision. Four officers in Bandarban subdivision are stationed respectively at Lama, Dighinala, Bandarban and Langadu. One Inspector is at Ramgarh. There is one Additional Thana Co-operative Officer at Rangamati attached to headquarters. In Sadar Subdivision there are one Executive Officer, Central Co-operative Bank, one Peripatetic Instructor and one Field Investigator.

For extension of co-operative ideas and activities through education and training there is a Peripatetic Unit in this district including one Inspector and one Assistant Inspector. They conduct monthly training courses in the interior centres. In each training course, 20 co-operators attend the course for 5 days on a pocket allowance of Re. 1 per day. They train up 60 co-operators every month.

The Kaptai Hydro-Electricity Project was inaugurated by the President of Pakistan on the 31st March, 1962. The Project is in charge of a Manager (Power). Under him there are four sections: Operation, Electrical Maintenance, Mechanical Maintenance and Plant Engineering. Each one of these sections is headed by one Executive Engineer of respective line. The The East Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority.

Executive Engineer, Operation, manages the rotational shift duty round-the-clock, under him. There are four Shift Charge Engineers, four Assistant Shift Charge Engineers, four Plant Operators, four Assistant Plant Operators. Under the Executive Engineer, Electrical Maintenance there are three Assistant Electrical Maintenance Engineers. Under the Executive Engineer, Plant Engineering, there are two Assistant Plant Engineers who take care of Civil Engineering Maintenance, and operate the spillway and reservoir in co-ordination of the UEN, Operation. They look to internal local administration also. They sometime keep lower the water level of the reservoir so that some land is raised above water and *boro* cultivation can be done. The total number of persons engaged in the power house is 762. The average quantity of power generation in 1964 was 333·983 million Kwt., in 1965, 403·184 million Kwt. and in 1966, 450·916 million Kwt.

**The Electric
Supply
Rangamati
(EPWADA)**

The office is headed by one Executive Engineer. Under him there are one Resident Engineer, one Sub-Assistant Engineer, one Senior Lineman, two Junior Linemen, four Helpers, three Generator Drivers and four Fitter-mates. The function of the office is to supply electricity to Rangamati town and to collect revenue thereof, the rate of collection per unit being for light and fan 0·37 paisa, for industry 0·16 paisa, for domestic power 0·16 paisa, for commercial purpose 0·16 paisa, for water pump (Water Supply) 0·16 paisa and for street-light 25 paisa. Rebate of 0·06 per cent. is allowed only for light and fan, if bill is paid in time.

District Council.

The District Council is headed by the Deputy Commissioner, the *ex-officio* Chairman, District Council, and there is one Secretary (Assistant Director, Basic Democracies) of the East Pakistan Civil Service. The heads of different departments in this district are members of the District Council.

There is one Assistant Engineer for roads and buildings. Under him there are two Sub-Assistant Engineers, one Overseer, three Sub-Overseers and three Surveyors. There is one Office Superintendent who manages the office and holds charge of assessment, tax collection, scholarship programme, schools and other educational institutions and grants.

Under the District Council there is one Rest House-cum-Tribal Museum started in 1966, and for this there are two Instructors for music and dance including tribal music and dance. There are also two Instructors for Cottage Industries maintained by the District Council.

This office headed by one Election Officer under Election Commission, Government of Pakistan, was established on 26-1-1967. The function of the office is maintenance and revision of electoral rolls as required under the Electoral College Act, 1964. Election office.

Under the Superintendent of Post Offices, Chittagong, there are six sub-post offices at Rangamati, Mahalchhari, Kaptai, Chandraghona, Ramgarh and Bandarban with one Sub-Post Master in each. The branch post offices under the Rangamati Sub-Post Office are at Banarupa, Buriqhat Bazar, Barkal, Langadu, Mainimukh, Marishya, Naniar Char, Subalong and Rangamati Court. There are six branch offices under Mahalchhari sub-office at Khagrachhari, Panchhari, Dighinala, Babuchhara bazar, Bhaibonchhara, and Maischhari. Under Ramgarh sub-office there is a branch office at Nahur. Under Bandarban-(Ruma) sub-office there are three branch offices at Lama, Naikhongchhari and Whykong (under Chiringa sub-office.) Under Kaptai sub-office Rainkhyongmukh is the only branch office. Under Chandraghona sub-office there are two branch offices at Silchhari and Raikhali Bazar. The Branch Post Master is in charge of each of the branch offices. Post office.

The office is headed by one Head Operator under the Divisional Engineer, Telegraphs and Telephone, Comilla Division, Comilla. Under the Head Operator there are three Operators, one Lineman, one line-cooly and one Sub-Inspector, Telegraphs line. The office had 25 line-magnator telephone system. These have now been turned into central battery system (1967). Under the exchange there are 29 telephones now working. There is one public call office at Sub-Telegraph office at Rangamati. The Telephone Exchange (Rangamati).

At Ramgarh there is one public call office with one line connection under the Feni telephone exchange. The Bandarban exchange is controlled by Satkania exchange under S. D. O., Telegraphs and Telephones, Chittagong. There is one public call office and one line connection with the Kaptai Exchange under the Divisional Engineer, Telegraphs, Comilla. The Kaptai Telephone Exchange was established on 7th February, 1966. It is headed by one Head Operator, 3 Operators, 1 Line-man, one Mechanic and one Phone Inspector. There are 55 local connections and one trunk line from Kaptai to Chittagong.

There are two telegraph offices, one at Rangamati and the other at Kaptai, in charge of one Telegraphist in each station under Chittagong Divisional Central Telegraph Office. Telegraph.

Besides, there are three Telegraph offices at Rangarh, Bandarban and Chandraghona, each in-charge of a Sub-Post Master, Post and Telegraphs.

Sub-Regional
Tourist Bureau,
Kaptai.

This office was started in 1962. It is headed by one Tourist Officer with the jurisdiction over Chittagong Hill Tracts district with headquarters at Kaptai. Under the Tourist Officer there are two tourist information assistants, one *ghai* supervisor and one care taker stationed at Kaptai. To visit the beauty spots of Kaptai people come, from home and abroad and the Tourist Bureau has arranged rest-houses for their stay there. The Bureau has purchased a tourist rest-house at a cost of Rs.5,00,000·00 from E.P.WAPDA. There are 20 beds in it with all modern amenities for comfortable stay of the tourists. Two other four bedded rest-houses have been built at Alikhyong Reserved Forest area and one at Deerpark near Rangamati. The daily rent of these rest-houses is Rs.15·00 for single-bed room and Rs.25·00 for double-bed room. The charge for a complete bungalow for family accommodation is Rs.75·00 per day. All these are at Kaptai, and the rent per day for each bungalow at Rangamati and Alikhyong is Rs.12·00.

For cruising of the tourists in the lake the Tourist Bureau maintains one diesel driven house-boat where three double-berth cabins with attached bath, dining rooms and lounge are available. It was built at a cost of Rs.1,30,000·00 in Rangamti Dockyard. This Bureau has also imported luxurious speed boats made of alloy and fibre glass, the rent of the speed boat is Rs.10·00 per hour *plus* the cost of fuel. The entire activities of the Tourist Bureau is directed in attracting foreign visitors interested in excursion in wild beautiful idyllic places of interest in the Hill Tracts district. It helps in earning foreign exchange through this invisible trade. There is also one jeep available for the tourists for hire at Re. 50 per mile.

The Swedish-
Pakistan
Institute of
Technology
(SPIT): Kaptai.

The Institute was established in 1962 and it started functioning from 1964 under the control of one Director (on Swedish side). In administrative side there is one officer with the designation of Officer-in-charge, Special Duty. Besides, there are ten Pakistani Instructors and 7 Swedish Instructors excluding the Director. This Institute is maintained by the Government of Pakistan with the technical help from the Swedish Government. The courses of technical education taken up there are: (1) Electrical, (2) Mechanical, (3) Automobile and (4) Wood-working, and with mechanical trade there is a sub-trade for welding. The course extends to 2 years-term for certificate, 3 years for Diploma and 4 years for Instructor Course in all trades.

The Agricultural Development Bank is headed by one Manager who is assisted by one Accountant, one Investigation Officer, one Investigator and one Cashier. The Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan established a pay office at Rangamati in the year 1961. Before the establishment of this pay office there was no loaning agency in this district. The cultivators had to depend upon the village money-lenders who used to charge interest at a very high rate. With the setting up of this pay office, the agriculturists of this district got financial assistance for the first time at a very moderate rate of interest (seven per-cent, per annum). In order to ensure better service and to make "Grow More Food" campaign a success this pay office was upgraded as Branch (Grade II) in March, 1964.

The Agricultural
Development
Bank of
Pakistan,
Rangamati.



Tipra males, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER XIV

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The history of Local Government in the district is a peculiar and interesting one. This is the only district in the province, having no Municipality. When the district was ceded to the East India Company they found the present territorial area of the district divided into 373 *mauzas*. Each *mauza* had a headman who was basically a revenue collecting agent under the tribal chief. He had also the responsibilities of village and community welfare work. The *mauza* was further subdivided into villages, each with a *Karhari* in-charge of revenue collection and village welfare duties.

History of Local Government.

In the year 1900 a District Advisory Council was formed by the Government. It consisted of three tribal chiefs of Rangamati, Bandarban and Ramgarh representing the Chakma, the Bohmong and the Mong tribes respectively. This council was set up to assist the Deputy Commissioner in revenue collection and general administration and to use its influence in the spread of education as well as to improve the health and material condition of the people. It was only in 1960 that a District Council was set up in the district for the first time.

The District Council of Chittagong Hill Tracts was established at the district headquarters on the basis of the election held in the year 1960 under the Basic Democracies Order of 1959. The District Council had 22 appointed members (10 official, 12 non-official) with Deputy Commissioner as the Chairman. The non-official members were selected from among the leading members of the public. The various government departments in the district were represented by the Subdivisional Officers, District Education Officer, District Agricultural Officer, Chief Medical Officer of Health, Executive Engineers, Superintendent of Police, Civil Surgeon, Divisional Forest Officers, Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives, District Public Relations Officer, etc.

District Council.

The total income of the District Council for the year 1965-66 was Rs.9,43,474 which included opening balance of the previous year of Rs.86,764. The total expenditure for the same year was Rs.8,95,763, leaving an opening balance of Rs.47,710 for the next year.

Income and expenditure of the District Council.

The major sources of income for the year were local rate which accounted for Rs.59,347, 'grant in lieu of landlords share of cesses' accounting for Rs.18,000 and the total Works Programme grants from government accounting for Rs.7,17,828.

The major items of expenditure for the same year were salaries and allowances of general staff accounting for Rs.32,535, recurring contingency expenditure for Rs.5,949, non-recurring contingency expenditure for Rs.21,155, pay and allowance of engineering staff for Rs.18,618; expenditure for Museum-cum-Rest House accounting for Rs.81,549; expenditure in connection with the execution of Works Programme Projects for Rs.6,76,074 and award of stipends to 51 college and 12 school students accounting for Rs.16,275.

**Thana and
Union Council.**

In 1961 there were 11 Thana Councils with 37 appointed members (20 official and 17 non-official) and 39 Union Councils with 270 elected and 135 appointed members. These Councils are represented at the District Council through three Chairmen and they perform their duties under supervision and control of the District Council. The expenditure under Works Programme of Thana Councils was Rs.4,13,120 in 1962-63, Rs.2,90,028 in 1964-65 and Rs.4,22,263 in 1965-66. The Thana Councils received Rs.8,40,000 from Government in 1966-67 under Works Programme.

Each of the 39 Union Councils covers an area of 13.06 sq. miles on an average with an average population of 9,700 persons. The expenditure under Works Programme of the Union Councils was Rs.2,45,628 in 1962-63, Rs.2,35,539 in 1963-64, Rs.2,36,689 in 1964-65 and Rs.3,15,586 in 1965-66. The Union Councils, however, have not been granted the same powers as in other districts, the most important exception being that the Union Councils have not been authorised to function as Conciliation Courts. This was perhaps done in view of the fact that the headmen and the chiefs already had powers to try tribal cases.

**Bazar Fund
Committee.**

As stated earlier, there is no Municipal Committee in this district. The institution of Bazar Fund which is a peculiarity of the district, may be taken as a substitute for a Municipality. The Fund was constituted as an "excluded local fund" under Order No. 5511, dated 23rd November 1895 of the Government of India, with the receipts from bazars in the district for the purpose of improvement and management of bazars and establishment of new ones. The Deputy Commissioner is the *ex-officio* Administrator of the Bazar Fund, who works under supervision of the Divisional Commissioner. The Subdivisional Officers have control of the administration of bazars within their respective subdivisions. The sources of income of the Bazar Fund are collection from *hats* and bazars, taxes on boats, grazing, etc. There is a Bazar Chaudhuri for each Bazar

appointed by the Administrator. A Police Officer, a Forest Officer, a Headman, or a Shopkeeper can be appointed as Bazar Chaudhuri who is entitled to a commission at fixed rates on the basis of collection. The Bazar Fund maintains a number of Rest Houses in the district. Even after the introduction of Basic Democracies no Municipal Committee have been constituted in the district but a Town Committee has been established at Rangamati. The Bazar Fund has been allowed to function as before. The far-flung subdivisions of this Hill Tracts district having extremely difficult means of communication, however, require Municipal bodies of their own to look after the local affairs and for taking necessary development measures.

A Town Committee was established at Rangamati in December, 1965. It consisted of six members at the start, all of whom were elected. The Chairman was also elected one.

Town
Committee.



Interior View of a house of the Murang tribe, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

CHAPTER XV

PLACES OF INTEREST

It is situated on the left bank of the Feni river, in Tabal-chhari union under the Ramgarh thana of the Ramgarh subdivision. It has an area of 2,086 acres and a population of 427 according to 1961 Census. It is an important market for cotton and sesame. The bazar is held every Tuesday. A Bazar Fund, Rest House and a primary school are located here. Ajodhya Bazar.

It is situated on the bank of the Matamuhuri river, 14 miles up from Lama, the thana headquarters, and close to the Matamuhuri Reserved Forest on the southern border of the Hill Tracts. It is in Bandarban subdivision under the Lama thana and Alikadam union. It has an area of 5,447 acres and a population of 1,697 according to 1961 Census. Alikadam is an important timber extraction centre of the Forest Industrial Development Corporation which is also planning a forest industrial complex in the area. There are numerous settlements of the Mrung and Khumi tribal people in the area around this frontier village. A beautiful Rest House has been constructed by the Bazar Fund authorities. It also contains a primary school and a small bazar. The ruins of an old town is found near the village. It is said that a Chakma Raja had built his capital near Alikadam where he moved from the south. Remains of the palaces can still be traced about 2 miles from Alikadam. Alikadam.

Twenty-seven miles south of Kaptai by boat, Alikhyong is situated within Alikhyong union under the Bandarban thana and Bandarban subdivision. It is one of the best spots for big game hunting. The area abounds in a great variety of games, such as elephant, tiger, sambur, barking deer, leopard, wild boar, pigeon, pheasant and jungle fowl. The Tourist bungalow overlooks the Kaptai lake and the Tourist Bureau provides hunting facilities, viz., arms, ammunition, transport, shikar guides, hunting lodges, etc. The place also contains a Forest Department Rest House and a primary school. Alikhyong.

The lake is situated on hill top at an altitude of about 1,800 ft. with crystal clear water in the midst of deep jungles. It is also noted for its scenic beauty. There is no human habitation near this lake which is about 8 miles to the south-east of Ruma police-station. It is approximately 125 ft. deep, shaped like a parallelogram, about a mile in circumference Baga Lake.

and surrounded by high hills on three sides, and open only on the east. Except for a species of big tortoise and *gajal* (*Channa marulius*, Hamilton) fish, no creature is known to live in this lake. The quiet atmosphere is only disturbed occasionally by wild ducks and migratory birds making their seasonal journeys.

Baga lake is locally known as "Boma Kani". "Boma" means king serpent and "Kani" means lake. So "Boma Kani" means king serpent lake. There is a local tradition as to the origin of the lake:

Long long ago there existed a big village where the present lake stands. It was a largely inhabited and prosperous village. But the people were not happy because of sudden disappearance from the village of domestic fowls, goats, pigs and also children. The village elders met together but could not discover the cause of it. They began to search the neighbouring hills and jungles. At length they found out a big cave, the probable abode of a big serpent. So they considered that this snake must have devoured their animals and children.

Accordingly they hit upon a plan to kill the snake. They made a big hook and it was tied at one end of a strong rope. Then a pig was hooked and thrown into the cave. All the villagers lay in wait for the snake. Soon the snake took the bait and there was a great tug-of-war between the snake and the villagers. The struggle lasted for several hours. At last the snake yielded and the villagers could drag half of it out of cave. This portion of the snake was cut off and its flesh was distributed amongst the people. It was a huge king python. They made feast with the meat, but only an old couple did not take part in the feast. At dead of a night, the couple dreamt a dream in which they were asked by the python god to leave the place. They dreamt this dream for three consecutive nights. So the old couple thought it wise to leave the place. As soon as they left the place, the village rocked and went down with a terrible sound and a big lake formed thereby.

This lake inspires awe among the local people and they make annual offerings with flowers and sacrifice animals in the name of the serpent god.

Bandarban.

It is the headquarters of the Bandarban subdivision, in the southern part of the Chittagong Hill Tracts district, at 22°-13' N. Latitude and 92°-14' E. Longitude. It is situated on the left bank of the Sangu river. The town has an area of 8,089 acres and a population of 3,047 according to 1961 Census.

Most of the people are Mughls or Arakanese, Chakmas and Bengali-speaking plainsmen. It is also the headquarters of a thana (created by Notification No. 4672 L. R., dated 12th May, 1924) which has under its jurisdiction 30 villages of 3 unions with an area of 346 sq. miles and a population of 29,026. Bandarban is also the seat of the tribal Chief of the Bohmong Circle. The Circle occupies the south of the district and between 21°-11' and 22°-30' N. Latitude, 92°-6' and 92°-38' E. Longitude, bounded on the north by the Chakma Circle, on the south and west by the district boundary and on the east by forest reserves. The present Chief of the Bohmong Circle is Maung Shwe Prue Chowdhury, a former Minister of the Government of East Pakistan.

The subdivisional headquarters is at a distance of 60 miles by a fair weather road from the district headquarters town of Rangamati and about 100 miles by road *via* Chittagong. It can also be reached by boat from the railway station at Dohazari in Chittagong, from where it is 30 miles upstreams of the Sangu river. The town contains the subdivisional court buildings, a post office, a high school, namely, Bandarban Govt. High School (estd. in 1943), a subdivisional hospital, a dispensary, an Inspection Bungalow and an Inspection hut of the C & B Department and a bazar. There are two *khryongs* or temples at Bandarban which are worth seeing.

It is situated on the right bank of the Karnafuli river, 26 miles to the east by river from Rangamati, on 22°-45' N. Latitude and 92°-22' E. Longitude. It gives its name to the hills in the vicinity. It is also a thana headquarters (created by Notification No. 4671 L. R., dated 12th May, 1924), situated on a hill slope, which has under its jurisdiction 40 villages of 4 unions with an area of 510 sq. miles and a population of 34,352 according to 1961 Census. It contains a furnished Inspection Bungalow of the C & B Department, a dispensary, a post and telegraph office and a big bazar. The river here previously formed rapids and was not navigable for quite a long distance. On this account a trolley line about 1½ miles in length was built in 1889 by which passengers and goods used to be transhipped. It had a beautiful waterfall. This area, however, is now completely under water and the river is navigable throughout the year.

Barkal Bazar.

It is situated on the right bank of the Karnafuli at the entrance of the district, 26 miles by river from Chittagong, on 22°-28' N. Latitude and 92°-12' E. Longitude. It is a

Chandraghona.

growing industrial area, well-known for the Karnafuli Paper and Rayon Mills. It is within Chandraghona union under the thana of the same name in Rangamati subdivision. The Karnafuli Paper and Rayon Mills area comprises 1,920 acres and has a population of 4,442 according to 1961 Census. The Chandraghona thana (created by Notification No. 4673 L. R., dated 12th May, 1924), has under its jurisdiction 29 villages of 3 unions, with an area of 266 sq. miles and a population of 48,469. It contains a high school, namely, Karnafuli Paper Mills High School (estd. in 1953), a station of the London Baptist Mission Society which had established a hospital here, known as, Arthrington Baptist Mission Hospital with 106 beds in 1907 and a Leprosy Home of 20 beds in 1913. It also contains a post office, a C & B Rest House, a Rest House of the Forest Department and a Guest House of the Karnafuli Paper Mills. The administrative headquarters of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were at Chandraghona until 1868 (November), when the headquarters were transferred to Rangamati.

It is the principal trading centre of the district for timber, cane, bamboo, cotton, sesame, sunn-grass and boat. *Hat* is held there on every Thursday.

The Karnafuli Paper Mills are reputed to be the largest of its kind in Asia. This Mill is actually designed to manufacture 100 tons of paper per day. Attached to the Mill is a pulp factory capably of meeting the Mill's requirements. Recently the Mill has been expanded to include a rayon plant. There are also steam and electricity generating plants, a water filtration plant, soda and caustic chlorine plants.

Chandraghona is an important tourists centre, rich in natural beauty.

Chimbuk.

It forms a part of the Sitamura Range, which is about the highest range in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It is situated about 2,000 feet above sea level. It is at a distance of 17 miles to the south-east by road from Bandarban. A Rest House and a meteorological station are located at Chimbuk. It provides a beautiful panoramic view of the country. Lucien Bernot, a French anthropologist, who had travelled in the Hill Tracts describes the beauty of the area in the following words: "All along the way the traveller sees exceptional scenery, for the Sangu and Matamuhuri rivers and even the sea are, by turns in view.....They call it "Chittagong Hill Tracts Darjeeling".

It is a village and a thana headquarters (created by Dighinala, Notification No. 4674 L. R., dated 12th May, 1924) under Ramgarh subdivision. The thana has under its jurisdiction 36 villages of 3 unions with an area of 976 sq. miles and a population of 45,855 according to 1961 Census. The village itself has an area of 10,611 acres and a population of 4,600. It contains a C & B Rest House, a Sadar Hospital and a primary school. This thana was bifurcated in July, 1968, into Dighinala and Bagaichhari.

It is a village in Guimara union under the Mahalchhari Guimara, thana of Ramgarh subdivision. The distance by road is 19 miles from Khagrachhari and 20 miles from Ramgarh. It has an area of 4,915 acres and a population of 1,192 according to 1961 Census. It is a business centre. Several hundred displaced persons of the Kaptai lake area have been rehabilitated here.

A village on the bank of the Karnafuli river, famous for Kaptai, the Karnafuli Hydro-Electric Project which meets the bulk of the power requirements of the Province. It is situated in Rangamati subdivision under the Chandraghona thana and Ghilachhari union. A 38 mile long metalled road, one of the finest in the Province, connects Kaptai with Chittagong. Rangamati is only 16 miles by river. It has an area of 4,480 acres and a population 1,848 according to 1961 Census. According to the latest report, however, population of Kaptai is 4,000. There is a high school here, namely, Karnafuli Project High School (estd. in 1954). It also contains an Engineering Academy of the EPWAPDA, the Swedish-Pakistan Institute of Technology, office and factory (lumber processing, under construction) of the FIDC, Fishery Development Corporation and Fresh Water Fishery Research sub-station, a sub-regional office of the Tourist Bureau, a Guest House, a V. I. P. House (Air-conditioned), a Dak Bungalow and an Inspection Bungalow belonging to the EPWAPDA and a Forest Department Rest House. Several industries based on timber have been established here.

The place has assumed much importance with the completion of the Hydel Project with a capacity to generate 80,000 K. W. of power by two generators, each producing 40,000 K. W. Another generator is being installed with a capacity to produce an additional 50,000 K. W. of power. A 127 feet high dam has been raised across the river Karnafuli for generation of hydro-power. The total cost was Rs.49 crores. The length of the dam is 2,200 feet and breadth at the base is 800 feet. The

spillway of the dam has 16 gates with a capacity to discharge 5,60,000 cusecs of water per second. The main features of the project are the dam and its reservoir, diversion tunnel, the spillway and a cargo transport system. The project has submerged an area of approximately 400 sq. miles comprising 125 *mouzas* including the major portion of the district headquarters at Rangamati. The submerged area includes over 54,000 acres of settled cultivable land which is about 40 per cent. of the total settled cultivable land of the district. About 10,000 ploughing families and 8,000 *Jhumiya* families (total 18,000 families) consisting of more than 1,00,000 of the people have been affected.

Government have assumed the responsibility to rehabilitate the persons displaced by the Hydel Project. The total cost for compensation and rehabilitation being estimated at rupees five crore and sixty one lakh. Besides paying them compensation, these people have also been given lands under the Rehabilitation Scheme in lieu of lands they lost. The largest concentration of rehabilitation is at Kassalong where the Reserve Forest has been de-reserved and plain lands made available to them. The other rehabilitation areas are the upper reaches of the Chengri river, non-submerged areas of Ramgarh, Sadar and Bandarban subdivisions.

Of the affected families about 11,000 families are staying on hill tops within the submerged areas. About 35,000 acres of hilly lands have been brought under plantation. Seeds, seedlings and fertilizers are being supplied to the families on loan in kind on long term basis. The total budget on Rehabilitation Scheme is Rs.1,69,00,000. This amount has already been spent to provide road communication, dispensaries, schools, markets, drinking water, transport facilities, shifting allowance and also straight grant to the displaced families.

Kaptai is an excellent holiday resort and a tourist centre. The extensive and lovely lake offers a majestic view on a moonlit night. One can enjoy swimming, water-ski-ing, angling and fishing in the lake. A cruise on the calm waters of the lake or, a walk on the long dam in a cool evening can be memorable experience. Accommodation facilities are excellent at Kaptai and easily available at the EPWAPDA Rest Houses.

Kassalong
rehabilitation
area.

The rehabilitation area is about 20 miles in length and about 3 miles in width, comprised of 10 *mouzas* created in 1960. There are 3 unions here—Khedarmara, Bagaichhari and Rupakari under the newly created Bagaichhari thana within the Sadar

subdivision. The distance of the rehabilitation area at nearest point is about 55 miles from Rangamati.

The rehabilitation zone has an area of about 7,040 acres and an estimated population of about 40,000. There are two Rest Houses, a high school, a Rural Health Centre and a post office at Kassalong. A model town has been built in Kassalong at a cost of Rs.11 lakh to provide modern amenities of life to the local population.

The largest concentration of the population displaced from their old homes by submergence due to flooding by the Karnafuli Hydel Project has taken place in the Kassalong area. About 10,000 acres of reserved forest and flat land was dereserved and about 5,000 ploughing families have been settled there. A big bazar has also been established in the Kassalong area. There are also two other bazars in the same area.

It is situated on the left bank of the Chengri river, in **Khagrachhari**, Ramgarh subdivision under the Mahalchhari thana and Khagrachhari union, which has an area of 45,289 acres and a population of 12,900 according to 1961 Census. It is centrally located in an enlightened area and is being developed as the new subdivisioinal headquarters of Ramgarh. It is connected with the old town of Ramgarh by road, about 35 miles north-east and by launch-cum-jeep service with Rangamati. It is a well-known business centre and there is a big bazar here. It contains a high school, namely, Khagrachhari High School (estd. in 1958), an out-door dispensary and a C & B Rest House. From 1st January, 1971 it became the headquarters of Ramgarh subdivision.

A village and a thana headquarters (created by Notification **Lama**, No. 7152 Jur., dated 28th July, 1922) situated on the right bank of the Matamuhuri river in Bandarban subdivision. The thana has under its jurisdiction 26 villages of two unions with an area of 724 sq. miles and a population of 21,329 according to 1961 Census. The village itself has an area of 3,514 acres and a population 625. It contains a primary school, a dispensary and a post office.

A village and a thana headquarters (created by Notification **Langadu**, No. 4669 L.R., dated 12th May, 1924) in Rangamati subdivision. The thana has under its jurisdiction 21 villages of 2 unions with an area of 181 sq. miles and a population of 14,764 according to 1961 Census. The village itself has an area of 19,840 acres and a population 3,889. It has been partially submerged due to construction of Kaptai Dam. It contains a junior high school, a dispensary and a post office, besides the police station.

Mahalchhari Bazar.

A village and a thana headquarters (created by Notification No. 4674 L.R., dated 12th May, 1924), situated on the right bank of the Chengri, a tributary of the Karnafuli river, in Ramgarh subdivision. It is at a distance of two days' journey by road from Rangamati. The thana has under its jurisdiction 49 villages of 6 unions with an area of 402 sq. miles and a population of 52,513 according to 1961 Census. The thana headquarters village contains a Sadar Hospital, a dispensary, a post office and a C & B Rest House. It is an important cotton and sesame market. A *hat* is held here on every Wednesday.

Mainimukh.

It is situated on the right bank of the Maini river, about 32 miles from Rangamati in Langadu union of a thana of the same name in the Rangamati subdivision. It has an area of 1,280 acres and a population of 1,269 according to 1961 Census. It contains a primary school and a Rest House of the Forest Department. It is an important bamboo and timber trading centre. It also has a big fish market.

Manikchhari.

A village in Ramgarh subdivision, at a distance of 26 miles from Ramgarh, under the Ramgarh thana and Manikchhari union. It lies on 23°-11' N. Latitude and 92°-5' E. Longitude. It has an area of 18,547 acres and a population of 3,007 according to 1961 Census. The population mostly consists of *Palaing* Mugh. It contains a *khyong ghar*, a dispensary and a post office. A large weekly *hat* is held here every Sunday. The village is important as it is the headquarters of the Mong Circle and the Mong Raja, the Chief of the Circle, resides here. The shortest route of the place from Chittagong by road is *via* Fatikchhari which lies at a distance of 12 miles from here.

Naikhongchhari.

A village and a thana headquarters (created by Notification No. 11679 P., dated 20th September, 1919) in Bandarban subdivision. The thana has under its jurisdiction 17 villages of 2 unions, an area of 181 sq. miles and a population of 14,564 according to 1961 Census. The village itself has an area of 13,478 acres and a population of 2,177. It contains a dispensary and a Dak Bungalow, besides the police station.

Naiyachhar Bazar.

It is situated on the left bank of the Chengri river and is at a distance of two days' journey by road or boat from Rangamati. A big *hat* is held here on every Tuesday. It is a trading centre for cotton and sesame.

Pablakhali.

It is a village located at Kassalong reserve forest area in the Sejak Valley union under the Dighinala thana of the Ramgarh subdivision. It has an area of 3,200 acres and a population

307 according to 1961 Census. It is 53 miles from Rangamati by water routes. For the promotion of tourism there is one game sanctuary at Pablakhali started in June, 1963 for the preservation of the existing stock of wild life which are gradually getting extinct and also for the introduction of new varieties of animals and birds. Hunting and shooting are prohibited in the area. A rest house has been built for the accommodation of visitors. There is also arrangement for tree-top watch. A timber extraction centre of F.I.D.C. is also located at Pablakhali.

It stands on the left bank of the river Chengri under the Mahalchhari thana of the Ramgarh subdivision. The village, also known as Bara Panchhari, has an area of 8,209 acres and a population of 801 according to 1961 Census. It contains a C & B Rest House, a dispensary and an important bazar. A large number of persons, displaced by the Karnafuli Reservoir, have been settled in the area. Panchhari.

It is situated on the left bank of the Karnafuli river at the mouth of the Rainkhyong river. It is under the Kotwali thana of the Sadar subdivision, and within Rainkhyong union which has an area of 55,680 acres and a population of 10,684 according to 1961 Census. The bazar is held on every Saturday. The place is an important centre of trade in bamboo, timber, cotton and sesame. Rainkhyong Bazar.

It was the headquarters of Ramgarh subdivision, situated on the left bank of the Feni river. It is also a thana headquarters having jurisdiction over 51 villages of 4 unions with an area of 349 sq. miles and a population 36,850 according to 1961 Census. The place itself has an area of 5,561 acres, and a population 4,539. It contains a high school, namely, Ramgarh High School (estd. in 1952), a primary school, a Subdivisional Hospital, a Jail Hospital, a post office and a C & B Inspection Bungalow. Ramgarh is also the headquarters of the Mong Circle which has an area of 653 sq. miles. Most of the people of this circle are Tipras. The place is approachable by a metalled road from Chittagong, a drive of 46 miles up to Dhoom and another 20 miles of metalled road somewhat narrow, winding up and down the hills through a heavily wooded area. One can have a view of a few tea gardens on the way to Ramgarh. The area is suitable for hiking, climbing and hunting. Ramgarh.

Rangamati is the headquarters town of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It is situated on the right bank of the river Karnafuli now the reservoir of the Karnafuli Hydel Project at Kaptai). Rangamati.

about 60 miles up the city of Chittagong by river and 48 miles by road to the north-east; and 16 miles north-east of Kaptai. It lies on $22^{\circ}-39'$ N. Latitude and $92^{\circ}-12'$ E. Longitude and is about 2 sq. miles in area. The population Rangamati town is 6,416 of which 4,453 are males and 1,963 females. There are 2,475 Muslims, 1,523 Caste Hindus, 225 Scheduled Castes and 2,163 others in the town. The number of literate persons in the town is 1,900, of which 1,728 are males and 172 female, the percentage of literacy in the town being 29.61. The origin of the name of Rangamati is not known. Probably the town derived its name from the streamlet, Rangamati, which used to flow into the Karnafuli from the east and the south-eastern corner of the town and possibly it was the Chakmas who gave the name to both the town and the streamlet on account of the reddish colour of the soil. Mr. J.E. Webster, I.C.S., in the "Gazetteer of the Tippera District" (1910) said that the name at one time applied to the whole of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The Major part of the old town has been submerged by the Karnafuli Reservoir and a new town is gradually being developed. The present town of Rangamati is surrounded by a vast sheet of water on the east and by narrow strips of water on the north-west and south, running into its heart at different places from different directions. The town is very rich in scenic beauty and the landscape is visible on all sides. Besides a lake of almost transparent water dancing in ripples under the glittering sun in the foreground and two ranges of hills running almost parallel from north to south present a magnificent sight. After the construction of the Karnafuli Hydro-Electric Project the area, all around Rangamati, has gone under water. It now stands on the bank of the big reservoir spreading over an area of nearly 400 sq. miles. Old offices, markets, bazars and the township itself have been submerged. New offices and bazars have been established at a new site. The Deputy Commissioner's old bungalow now stands on the bank of the big reservoir.

Rangamati, the headquarters of the district, is also the head-quarter of the Chakma Circle and its Chief. There are 91 villages under the Chakma Circle. Rangamati is a tourist centre. There are now two Circuit Houses and several Rest Houses at this place. There is one tribal museum attached to the District Council Dak-Bungalow, to preserve the antiquities of the tribal people. The tribal villages are worth seeing. The home-spun and embroidered tribal clothes, especially the beautiful scarfs which the tribal women love to wear are available at Rangamati. The weaving centre, where the tribal girls are trained on modern

lines maintain a show room for their manufactures which are in great demand.

There is a college at Rangamati, known as Rangamati College (estd. in 1965). It was provincialised on the 1st of May, 1970. Rangamati also contains two high schools, viz., Rangamati Government High School (estd. in 1890) and Shab High School (estd. in 1957). Both the schools are co-educational and they have hostels for the pupils (3 hostels in the former and one in the latter). There is also a separate girls' high school. A co-educational junior high school is also run by the local Roman Catholic Mission. A model primary school, maintained by the District Council, and a few other primary schools, including one for girls, are there at Rangamati. In addition to these, a night school, and a training centre for short-hand and type-writing, are run by the Social Welfare Department. There are also two centres of the Rehabilitation Department for imparting training to the boys and girls in weaving and carpentry.

The Rangamati Sadar Hospital was established in 1904 (in the lower Rangamati area, now under water) and shifted to its new site in the heart of the town in 1960. It has 15 beds for male and 10 for female patients with modern amenities and has a family planning centre attached to it. There is a Police Hospital which caters to the needs of the police force and their family members. A School Health Centre, a T.B. Clinic and a Child Welfare Centre are also functioning at Rangamati.

The main road linking Rangamati with Chittagong is a 46 miles long metalled road. A daily bus service is available. The road is bifurcated at the bus station near the Court Building, one line passing by the Sadar Hospital up to Tabalchhari Bazar in the south and the other passing by the Court Building to the new Rangamati Bazar locally known as Reserve Bazar at Chengimukh in the north-east. There is a launch service from Rangamati to Kassalong model town, 65 miles, and from Rangamati to Kaptai, 16 miles. There is also a launch service from Rangamati to Subalong and Khagrachhari.

There are three mosques in the town. The Buddhists have a *khyong* called the *Ananda Bihar* in the heart of the town. The Hindus have a *Kalibari* and a *Gaur-Nitai Ashram* and the Baptist Mission has a church and the Roman Catholic, their mission houses.

There is a cinema hall near Chengimukh. The Station Club at Rangamati, with a fine tennis court attached to it, provides recreation to officials and the elite of the town. There

is also a Ministerial Officers' Club, where theatrical performances are held occasionally by the members for the entertainment and recreation of the people. Besides, there is an Arts Council where periodical performances in dance and drama are arranged. The Arts Council also imparts training to boys and girls in dancing and music. It is also helping to a great extent in reviving the old and traditional arts and culture of the hill people.

There are branches of four commercial banks here, viz., the Habib Bank, National Bank of Pakistan, Commerce Bank and Central Co-operative Bank. The Chengimukh and Tabalchhari Bazars are the two chief areas of commercial activities in raw material and vegetables. There are two saw mills to the west of Chengimukh Bazar where trade in timber products is carried on.

The main commercial products of the area are timber, bamboo and cane which are brought here from the Reserved Forests and the interior of the upper reaches of the Karnafuli, Chengi and Kassalong rivers. *Jhum* products such as cotton, *mil*, maize and vegetables are also brought here for sale. Some locally made fabrics and jewellery used by the hill-women are also available at Rangamati. A Deer Park and a hunting lodge are also there at Rangamati, maintained by the Tourist Bureau.

The town is administered by an organisation called the "Chittagong Hill Tracts Bazar Fund" of which the Deputy Commissioner is the *ex-officio* Administrator. It almost resembles a Municipality and looks after the sanitation and conservancy of the town in accordance with "Chittagong Hill Tracts Bazar Fund Rules, 1937".

At present electricity is supplied by the EPWAPDA and water supply is the responsibility of the Public Health Engineering Department. The town contains a post and telegraph office, a telephone exchange, two Circuit Houses and a Dak Bungalow. It is also the headquarters of the Kotwali Rangamati thana (created by Notification No. 3250-P., dated the 15th March, 1920), which has under its jurisdiction 81 villages, including Rangamati town, in 7 unions with an area of 644 sq. miles and a population 66,378.

Ruma.

It is a thana headquarters in Bandarban subdivision on the right bank of the Sangu river, 30 miles above Bandarban. The thana has under its jurisdiction 27 villages of 3 unions with an area of 514 square miles and a population 21,591 according to 1961 Census. The village itself has an area of 4,280 acres and a population 1,191. There is a C & B Inspection hut here.



Two girls of the Bawn tribe of Ruma, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

It is under the Barkal thana of the Rangamati subdivision Subalong Bazar, and is situated on the left bank of the Karnafuli and at the mouth of a tributary of the same name. It is at a distance of eleven miles by road and 12 miles by river from Rangamati. It is an important cotton trading centre. It contains a C & B Inspection Bungalow, a Forest Department, Rest House and another Rest House of the Karnafuli Paper Mills.

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS DISTRICT GAZETTEER

APPENDIX

District Officers of the Chittagong Hill Tracts :

1. Captain Magrath (1860).
2. G. Macgill (1864).
3. J.S.K. Kilby (1865).
4. T.H. Lewin (1866-9).
5. E. Raity (1869-70).
6. T.H. Lewin (1871-4).
7. A.W. Power (1874-6).
8. J. Anderson (1876-7).
9. A.F. Gordon (1881).
10. L.R. Forbes (1882-4).
11. C.A.S. Reford (1884-86).
12. C. Owen (1887).
13. L.R. Forbes (1887).
14. C.S.S. Redford (1891).
15. C.S. Masray (1891).
16. F.C. Daly (1891).
17. C.S. Munay (1892).
18. J. A. Cave-Browne (1893).
19. C.S. Munay (1893).
20. R.H.S. Hutchinson (1894).
21. C.S. Munay (1894-96).
22. J.A. Cave-Browne (1896).
23. W.N. Deleirgne (1897).
24. F.P. Dixon (1897).
25. J.A. Cave-Browne (1898).
26. R.H.S. Hutchinson (1890).
27. R.A. Stephen (1901).
28. R.H.S. Hutchinson (1906).
29. H.L. Fell (1908).
30. J.B. McDermott (1900).
31. R.A. Stephen (1910).
32. R.H.S. Hutchinson (1911).
33. J.W. McDermott (1911).
34. R.A. Stephen (1911).
35. O. Mawson (1912).
36. A.J.W. Hanis (1916).
37. O. Mawson (1916).
38. A.J.W. Hanis (1917).
39. O. Mawson (1918).

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS DISTRICT GAZETTEER

40. A.J.W. Hanis (1919).
41. J. Younie (1920).
42. H.R. Wilkinson (1920).
43. G.A. Stevens (1922).
44. T.M. Dow (1923).
45. C.G.B. Stevens (1923).
46. A.S. Hands (1927).
47. Hon'ble Rai S.C. Basu Bahadur (1929).
48. A.S. Hands (1929).
49. S.K. Ghosh (1931).
50. W. H.T. Ghushi (1934).
51. S. Dutt, (1936).
52. W.H.J. Christie (1936).
53. Lt. Col. G.L. Hyde, O.B.E. (1937).
54. Mr. A.K. Ghosh (1939).
55. Lt. Col. G.L. Hyde, O.B.E. (14-8-1947 to 31-1-1948).
56. Major L.H. Niblett (1-2-1948 to 24-12-1950).
57. Lt. Col. J.A. Hume (25-12-1950 to 15-8-1953).
58. Mr. M.H. Shah, C.S.P. (30-9-1953 to 30-6-1954).
59. Major L.H. Niblett (1-7-1954 to 11-12-1956).
60. Mr. S. Afzal Agha, C.S.P. (15-2-1957 to 21-8-1958).
61. Mr. M.A. Kareem Iqbal, C.S.P. (22-8-1958 to 12-2-1960).
62. Mr. Helaluddin Ahmed Chowdhury, C.S.P. (13-2-1960 to 24-1-1964.)
63. Mr. S.Z. Khan, C.S.P. (10-2-1963 to 1-7-1964).
64. Mr. M.S. Rahman, C.S.P. (1-8-1964 to 5-8-1966).
65. Mr. L.R. Khan, C.S.P. (9-8-1966 to 23-7-1969).
66. Mr. H.T. Imam, C.S.P. (24-7-1969).
67. Mr. Aminul Islam, C.S.P. (14-5-1971).
68. Mr. M. E. Sharif (16-12-1972.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agriculture and Animal Resources of East Pakistan, 1961.* Agriculture Marketing Directorate, Government of Bangladesh.
- AHMAD, DR. MAFIS .. *Economic Geography of East Pakistan.*
- AHMAD, KAMALUDDIN .. *Fhal, Fool-o-Shak-Shabji (Dacca, 1966), (কল, ফুল ও শাক শবজি)*
- ALAM, MAHBUBUL .. *Chattagramer Itihas. (1950), (চট্টগ্রামের ইতিহাস)*
- ALI, SYED MURTAZA .. *History of Chittagong (1964); Hill Tribes of Chittagong, East Pakistan Profile, (1962).*
- Annual Land Revenue Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts for the year 1965-66 (1969).*
- ASCOLI, F.D. .. *Early Revenue History in Bengal, Oxford, 1917*
- Average Prices of Staple Food Crop (Rice) in Bengal, From 1887 to Date (1935)*
Department of Land Records and Surveys.
- BADUYA, S.R. CHANDRA .. *Chattagramer Mager Itihas, Calcutta, 1906.*
- BASU, P.C. .. *The Social and Religious Ceremonies of the Chakmas. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, n, s.27. 1931, PP. 213-223.*
- BERNOT, LUCIEN .. *In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Pakistan quarterly, (3), 1953, PP. 17-61; Ethnic Groups of Chittagong Hill Tracts, (1964).*
- BESSAIGNET, PROF. PIERRE *Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts; Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Publication No. 1, Dacca, 1958.*
- BEVERLEY C.S. MR. H. .. *Report on the Bengal Census, 1872.*
- BORAH, M.I. .. *English Translation of Beharistani Ghaibi by Mirza Nathan, Vols. I and II.*
- BRAMMER, H. .. *An Outline of the Geology and Geomorphology of East Pakistan in relation to Soil Development, Pakistan Journal of Soil Science, 1964, Vol. I, PP. 1-123.*
- BU SAN SHWE .. *The Arakan Mug Battalion, Journal of Burma Research Society, 13, 1923, PP. 129-135.*
- CORSTAIRS, R. .. *The Little World of an Indian District Officer, Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1922.*

CHAKRABARTI, RAI BAHADUR MONOMOHAN *A summary of the changes in the jurisdiction of districts in Bengal from 1957-1916, (1918).*

Chittagong District Records, (Vols. I and II).

Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual. Government of Bengal. Board of Revenue. Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal, 1942.

Chittagong Hill Tracts Soil and Land Use Survey Report, 1964-66. Forestal Forestry and Engineering International Limited In nine Volumes.

Vol 1. Introduction and Description of Project Area

Vol 2, Part 1—Geomorphology and Geology

Part 2—Soils

Part 3—Land Capability

Vol. 3, Part 1—Agronomy

Part 2—Agricultural Engineering

Part 3—Animal Husbandry

Vol. 4. Fisheries

Vol. 5, Part 1—Forestry

Part 2—Land Use

Vol. 6. Agricultural Economics

Vol. 7. Land use and Forest Cover Maps

Vol. 8. Land form, Soils and Land Capability Maps

Vol. 9. Summary and Recommendations.

CHOWDHURY, DR. ABDUL MOMEN. *The Dynastic History of Bengal, (Dacca, 1967).*

CHOWDHURY, PURNA CHANDRA. *Chattagramer Itihas (1920).* (চট্টগ্রামের ইতিহাস)

CHOWDHURY, W. .. *A Trip to the Sajek Valley, the Paradise of Nature and Beauty,* Morning News, Dacca, March 11, 1966, PP. 7-9.

COTTON, H.J.S. .. *Memorandum on the Revenue History of Chittagong.*

DALTON .. *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,* Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1872.

District Census Report-Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1961.

GEDDES, T.G. .. *Chittagong Tenures.*

GHANI, Q. .. *Chittagong Hill Tracts,* Pakistan Quarterly, 1(5), 1950-51, PP. 63-68.

- GRIERSON, DR. SIR G.A. .. *Linguistic Survey of India Vol. V, P-1.*
- HALL, D. G. E. .. *History of South East Asia, Early Intercourse with Burma, (1928).*
- Hand Book of District Statistics of Bangladesh—Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bureau of Statistics).*
- HARVEY, G. E. .. *History of Burma.*
- HASAN, MASUDUL .. *Basic Democracies (Law and Principles of).*
- Hundred years of Pakistan Railways—Ministry of Railways and Communication (Railway Board), 1962.*
- HUNTER, W.W. .. *A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. VI (Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali); Annals of Rural Bengal, 7th Edition London, 1897; Readings in Indian History; Bengal M.S. Records; Imperial Gazetteer of India (1887); Famine Aspects of Bengal Districts.*
- HUQ, DR. MAHMMAD ENA-MUL. *Purba Pakistane Islam; Arakan Rajsabhe Bangla; Sahitye Chattagrami Banglar Rahasya Bhed (1930).*
- HUQ, SYED AHMADUL .. *History of Chittagong (1948).*
- HUSAIN, HYDER .. *Chittagong Hill Tracts : Land, People and its problem, Pakistan today, Dacca, 6(5) May, 1953, PP. 203-208.*
- HUTCHINSON, R. H. .. *Chittagong Hill Tracts District Gazetter, Calcutta, 1909;*
- IBN BATTUTAH .. *An Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Ajaibul Asfar.*
- ISHAQ, MUHAMMAD .. *Pak-Bharater Itihas (Dacca, 1952); Mughaler Chattagram Bijoy (বৌগলের চটগ্রাম বিজয়) (Chittagong, 1941).*
- KARIM, DR. A. .. *Social History of Muslims of Bengal (1950).*
- KAUFFMAUN, H. E. .. *Observation on the agriculture of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca, 1962, PP. 111-133.*
- KINDERSLY, J.B. .. *Final Survey and Settlement of Chittagong (1933)*

Land Revenue Administration Report of the Chittagong Hill Tracts for the year 1961-62, (1964).

LEWIN, CAPT. T. H. .. *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein, (1869).*

MAJUMDER, DR. R. C. (GENERAL EDITOR). .. *History of Bengal, Vol. I—Published by the University of Dacca.*

NIBLETT, L. H. .. *Remembrance, Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca 1958, PP. 98-106.*

O' MALLEY, L. S. S. .. *District Gazetteer of Chittagong, Calcutta, 1908.*
Pakistan Census of Agriculture (1960), Vol. I—East Pakistan.

PAUL, PROMODE LAL .. *The Early History of Bengal Vol. 1.*

PARGITER .. *Notes on the Chittagong Dialect, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 55, 1886, Pt. 1. PP. 66-80.*

Prices of Foodgrains, Fire wood and Salt in Bengal, for the year 1866 to 1878.
Compiled by the Bengal Secretariat Statistical Department (1879).

RAHIM, DR. A. .. *Social History of Bengal (Dacca, 1959).*

RAHMAN, H. .. *Chittagong Since Partition. Pakistan Economic Journal, Karachi, 1950, PP. 65-81.*

RAJPUT, A.B. .. *The tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (1965); The Primitive Arts of Pakistan, Pakistan Quarterly, Summer-1966. Vol. XIV, No. 1. PP. 62-8.*

RASHID, H. .. *East Pakistan (1964).*

RANNELL, J. .. *Bengal Atlas (London, 1780).*

Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1918.

Report on the Administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts for the year 1953-54, (1959).

RISLEY, H.H. .. *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1891, PP. 28-37.*

ROY, RAJA BHUVAN MOHAN. .. *History of the Chakma Raj Family, Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca, 1958, PP. 88-94.*

ROY, RAJA NALINAKSHA .. *Tribes of the Chakma Circle, Tribesmen of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca, 1958, PP. 79-87.*

Report of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Committee, 1963, Planning Department, Government of Bangladesh.

ROY, RAJA TRIDIV ... *Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dacca (1958), PP. 74-78.

SARKAR, SIR JADU NATH (GENERAL EDITOR). *History of Bengal*, Vol. II—Published by the University of Dacca.

SATTER, ABDUS ... *Arranya Janapade* (আরুণা জনপদে), Dacca, 1966.

Selections from the Correspondence on the Revenue Administration on the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1887.

Selections from the Correspondence on the Revenue Administration on the Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1862-1927. Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, Government of Bengal Press, Calcutta, 1929.

SEN, K. P. ... *Rajmala*.

SHAKESPEAR, Lt. Col. J. ... *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912.

SINGHA, KAILASH CHAUN-
DRA. *Rajmala* (1895).

Statistical Digest of East Pakistan No. 5, 1968, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.

STEWART ... *History of Bengal*.

Survey of Cottage Industries in Bangladesh, BSIC, Dacca, 1966.

Survey of Small Industries in Bangladesh—BSIC, (1964).

TALISH, SHIHABUDDIN ... *Fathe Ibria* (JASB, 1872); *Tarikh-e-Mulk Asham*, written in 1663 as supplement to the same about the conquest of Chittagong (extracts in English in JASB, 1906-07).

The Soil and Land use Survey Report of 1964-66—Director of Land Records and Surveys.

INDEX

A

Abul Fazl, X.
 Agha, Mr. S. Afzal, 298.
 Agricultural Development Bank, 80, 133.
 Agricultural Development Corporation,
 80, 88, 91.
 Ahmed, Dr. Nafis, 299.
 Ahmed, Kamaluddin, 299.
 Ain-i-Akbari, X, 26.
 Aitken, E. H., XV.
 Ajodhya, VI, 145.
 Ajodhya Bazar, 283.
 Akbar, 27.
 Akyab (Burma), 97.
 Alamgir, Aurangzeb, 28.
 Alam, Mahbubul, XVI, 299.
 Al-Farabi, IX.
 Ali, Caliph, IX.
 Alikadam, 25, 89, 101, 146..
 Alikadam union, 283.
 Alikhyong, 145, 213, 276.
 Alikhyong union, 283.
 Alim, A., I.
 Ali, Mehrab, XVII.
 Ali, M. M. Anwar, VII.
 Ali, S. M., II, XVII, 299.
 Allen, C. G., XV, XVI.
 Alutila, 145.
 Amar, 26.
 America, 155.
 Amman, 203.
 Andharmanik, 129.
 Anderson, J., 297.

Angunya (Governor of Chittagong), 38.
 Ansari, A. Q., II, VII.
 Anwar, 21.
 Arakan, III, IV, 25, 26, 27, 29, 33, 34, 36,
 37, 38, 44, 71, 75, 100, 101, 239.
 Arakanese Mugh King Minyaza, 26.
 Aranjuk, 34.
 Arthrington Baptist Mission Hospital, 286.
 Ascoli, F. D., 1, 117, 118, 119, 128,
 129, 134, 252, 299.
 Asia, 286.
 Assam, 20, 25.
 Azim, Saiyid Iqbal, VIII.
 Aziznagar, 154.
 Azizuddin Cigarette Industries Ltd., 154.
 Azizuddin Industries Ltd. at Chambi, 157.
 Azizunnesa, VII.

B

Baburnamah, X.
 Baduya, S. R. Chandra, 299.
 Bagaichhari, 283, 287, 288.
 Bagaihat, 145, 272.
 Baga Lake, 283.
 Bagchari, 148.
 Baghkali, 92.
 Bahadur, Hon'ble Raj, S. C. Basu, 298.
 Bahalkali, 272.
 Baharistan, 27.
 Baithang (Mouza), 60.
 Baksh, Dharam, 50.
 Balazuri, X.

- Bandarban, IV, V, VI, 8, 12, 32, 38, 40, 43, 63, 90, 126, 133, 136, 141, 142, 144, 145, 147, 148, 157, 161, 196, 240, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 276, 279, 282.
 Bandarban Govt. High School, 193, 199, 285.
 Bandarban Subdivision, 10, 50, 74, 253, 257, 273, 283, 288, 289, 290, 294,
 Bangaldhaliya, 142, 144.
 Bangladesh, XIV.
 Banjogi tribe, 31.
 Banskhal, 21.
 Bara Taung, 3.
 Barker, 3, 7, 30, 40, 89, 97, 110, 142, 143, 145, 147, 148, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 273.
 Barker Bazar, 285.
 Barker Range, 3, 4.
 Barker thana, 295.
 Barnwell, Mr. S. B. Hatch, 43.
 Barzatali, 272.
 Basi Taung, 3.
 Basra, IX, X.
 Bastin, R. W., XVI.
 Basumbag, 148.
 Basu, P. M., XV.
 Batimain range, 3, 4.
 Batitaung, 4.
 Bay of Bengal, 7, 19, 20, 98, 155.
 Bell, F. O., XVI.
 Bengal, 27, 119, 251.
 Bernier, 27.
 Bernot, Lucien, a French anthropologist, 75, 286, 299.
 Bessaignet, Prof. Pierre, 33, 219, 299.
 Beverley C. S., Mr. H., 299.
 Beveridge, H., VX.
 Bhangamura, 3.
 Bhangmuri, 272.
 Bhaibamchhara, 148.
 Bhar Jyatali (Mouza).
 Bhimanjoy, 33.
 Bhomongri (King of Arakan), 38.
 Biaya Manikya, 26.
 Buhar, 251,
 Bijoygiri, 33.
 Bilaichari, 146, 147, 148.
 Bilaisari Peak, 4.
 Boalhah, 148.
 Boalkhali, 21, 143.
 Bogakine Lake, 8.
 Bogley, the spirit of water, 75.
 Bohmong, 8.
 Bohmong and Mugh circle, 37.
 Bohmong Circle, 36, 63, 240, 285.
 Boradom, residence of one of the chief headmen of the Chakma, 249.
 Borah, M. I., 299.
 Boro Harina, 7.
 Boucher, General, 31.
 Boudha Rajika, 219.
 Bradley Birts, XV.
 Brammer, H., I, 79, 299.
 Brownlow, General, 31.
 Bruyn, Mr. De, 75.
 Buchanan, Dr. Francis, X, XIV.
 Buller, R. Hughes, XV.
 Burighat, 148.
 Burma, 1, 3, 4, 20, 25, 3, 4, 37, 50, 61, 66, 101, 107, 171.
 Burmese war, 33.
 Bu San Shwe, 299.
 Butichar, 143.

C

- Cachar, 31.
 Calcutta, 35.
 Calcutta Gazette, 107.
 Cambodia, 203.
 Chakaria, 21.
 Chakma, 33, 126, 252.
 Chakma Circle, 44, 69, 249, 285.
 Chakparia, 21.
 Chakrabarti, Rai Bahadur Monomohan, 300.
 Chakrasala, 26.
 Chambi, 154.
 Champakali, 33.
 Champakanagar, 33.
 Champion, Sir, H. G., 101.
 Chandasur, 33.
 Chandpur, 271.
 Chandraghona, III, VI, 7, 39, 40, 89, 98, 110, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 154, 155, 156, 161, 197, 251, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 273, 276, 285, 286, 287.
 Chandraghona Paper and Rayon Mills, 12.
 Chandraghona Paper Mill, 271.
 Chandra, Harish (Grandson of Ranu Kalindi), 35, 36.
 Chandra, Nil (the headman), 249.
 Chandra, Ray Bahadur Harish, 36.
 Changpal Peak, 3.
 Chanu, Chakma Chief, 26.
 Chemi mouza, 74.
 Chengi, 42, 126, 294.
 Chengimukh, 293.
 Chengimukh Bazar, 294.
 Chengri Valley, 43.
 Chengri, 7, 23, 90, 98, 290.
 Chengri river, 142, 288, 289.
 Chengri Valley, 6, 23, 88, 90, 119, 246.
 Chengyasur, 33.
 Chhotahariana, 148.
 Chhuti Khan, 26.
 Chief Ratan Puiya, 30.
 Chima, 31.
 Chimbuk, 143, 145.
 Chimbuk Hill, 89.
 China, 20.
 Chingri, 9.
 Chipui Lungsi Range, 3.
 Chipul, 3.
 Chiriga, 22.
 Chiringa, 21, 111.
 Chitmoron, 215.
 Chittagong, 1, 20, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 37, 75, 76, 84, 85, 94, 95, 97, 107, 111, 141, 147, 153, 160, 161, 246, 249, 251, 267, 268, 271, 272, 273, 285, 287, 290, 291, 292, 293.
 Chittagong Forest Division, 99.
 Cholagru, 38.
 Chowdhury, Maung Shwe Prue, (a former Minister of the Government of East Pakistan), 285.
 Chaudhuri, A. C., XV.
 Chowdhury, M. A., VII.
 Chowdhury, M. I., VII.
 Chowdhury, Mr. Helaluddin Ahmed, 298.
 Chowdhury, W., 300.
 Chowdhury, Dr. Abdul Momen, 300.
 Chowdhury, Purna Chandra, 300.
 Chuijan-Kyatha (Burmese history), 33.
 Chunoti Hills,
 Chuturia, 21.
 Comilla, 21, 271.
 Commissioner of Chittagong, 108.

Conservator of Forests of Bengal, 107.
 Cornwallis, Lord, 35.
 Corstairs, R., 299.
 Cotton's (Revenue History of Chittagong), 35.
 Cotton, H. J. S., 300.
 Cox's Bazar, 3, 21, 37, 101, 106.
 Cox's Bazar Division, 105.
 Cox's Bazar Forest Division, 99.
 Crowpara, 144.

D

Dabrukhyong, (Mouza), 60.
 Dacca, 95.
 Dalton, 300.
 Dalupara, 143.
 Daly, F. C. 297.
 Dani, Dr. A. H., XVI.
 Darjeeling, 286.
 Das, Taraknath, XV.
 Davies, Sir, William, XV.
 Deb Manikya, 26.
 Decrpark, 276.
 Deleirgne, W. N., 297.
 Demagiri, 7.
 Demagiri, 32, 141, 142, 162.
 Dengyawadi-Aradafung, 34.
 De, S. C., XV.
 Dewan Bazar, 145.
 Dewansar, 148.
 Dewan, Shuklal, 35.
 Dhabana, 34.
 Dhanya Manikhya, 26.
 Dharangiri, an Arakanese Governor, 26.
 Dhochari, 148.

Dhoom V, 142, 143, 291.
 Dhurung, 98.
 Dianga, 27.
 Dighinala, 18, 40, 142, 145, 183, 264, 265, 269, 287, 273.
 Dighinala High School, 193, 199.
 Dighinala Thana, 290.
 Dikon, F. P., 297.
 Das, Nil Kamal, 219.
 Dohazari, V, 21, 111, 142, 285.
 Dolajeri Range, 3.
 Dow, T. M., 298.
 Dullyachari, 148.
 Dutta, Ramesh Chandra, XV.
 Dutta, S., 298.

E

Eastern Bengal, 20.
 Eastern Pakistan Timber and Plywood Industries, Co. Ltd., 154, 157.
 East India Company, 28, 37, 38, 251.
 East Pakistan, 3, 4, 12, 13, 20, 14, 17, 25, 85, 104, 155, 156, 233, 266.
 East Pakistan Agricultural Development Corporation, 5.
 East Pakistan Forest Industries Development Corporation, 156.
 East Pakistan Small Industries Corporation, 157, 159.
 Echord, Lawrance, IX.
 Eghar, 38.
 Ellerker, Captain, (Commanding the 22nd battalion of sepoy), 29.
 Engineering Academy of the EPWAPDA, 287.
 EPIDC, 157.
 E. P. WAPDA, 16, 19, 142, 193, 274, 276 294.
 E. P. WAPDA Rest House, 288.

F

- Fahmi, A. M. Salimullah, II, VII.
 FAO-FPFEC Scheme, 94.
 Farouk, Dr. A., VII.
 Farrukhshiyar (Mughal Emperor), 38.
 Fashiakhali, 111.
 Fathiya, 27.
 Fatikchhari, 21, 290.
 Feni, 162.
 Feni and the Sungo river, 35.
 Feni river, 1, 8, 9, 141.
 F. I. D. C., 106, 289, 291.
 Firingibazar, 271.
 Fisheries Development Corporation, 94.
 Fitch Ralph, 27.
 Forbes, L. R. 297.
 Forestal Forestry and Engineering International Ltd., 5.
 Forest Industries Development Corporation, 112.
 Forest Industries Development Corporation, 105.
 Freire, Nuno Fernandiz, Chief of the Portuguese, Colony, 26.

G

- Gangaram, 98, 100, 146.
 Gastrell, Colonel, XIV.
 Gaur, 25.
 Geddes, T. G., 300.
 Ghagra, 144.
 Ghalangya, 60 (Mouza), 60.
 Ghani, Q, 300.
 Ghegra, 143.
 Ghilachhari, 4, 287.
 Ghose, Dr. P. K., a Geologist, 98.

- Ghosh, Mr. A. K., 298.
 Ghosh, S. K., 298.
 Glazier, XV.
 Golabari, 89.
 Golakhan, 272.
 Gordon, A. E., 297.
 Gordon, Lieutenant, 8.
 Graham, Captain, 64, 69.
 Gireson, Dr. Sir G. A., 203, 206, 301.
 Guimara, 143, 145, 287.
 Guimara Khagrachhari, 142.
 Gundum, 111.
 Gupta, J. N., XVI.
 Gupta, M. Das, XV.
 Gupta, Promod Ranjan Das, XVI.

H

- Habib Bank Ltd., 173.
 Haka, 141.
 Hakim, Abdul, 219.
 Hakim, A. K. M. Abdul, VII.
 Halda river, 21, 98.
 Halhed, Mr., 28.
 Hall, D. G. E., 301.
 Hamilton, 284.
 Hamilton, Walter, XIV.
 Hands, A. S., 298.
 Hanis, A. J. W., 297.
 Harbang, 3, 154, 157.
 Hare, Sir Lancelot, Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 181.
 Harina, 98.
 Harinchora, 272.
 Hario, 38.
 Hartley, A. C., XVI.

Harun-Er-Rashid, 4.
 Harvey, G. E., 301.
 Hasan, Masudul, 301.
 Hastings, Warren, 28.
 Hathazari, 21, 141.
 Hatiya, 21.
 Haulong, 161.
 Hazachhari, 272.
 Heingkhong, 126.
 Hill Tripura, III, 25, 231.
 Himalayan Range, 25.
 Himalayas, 56.
 Hodgson, Mr. Brain, 219.
 Hodson, Mr. T. S., 229.
 Hossain, Syed Mosharraf, XVII.
 Hossain, Zakir, I, VII.
 Hughes, A. W., XV.
 Hume, Lt. Col. J. A., 298.
 Hungore, 98.
 Hunter, Mr. W. W., XV, 1, 57, 116, 138, 171, 301.
 Huq, Ahmadul, XVII.
 Huq, Dr. Mahmmd Enamul, 301.
 Huq, Md. Saycedul, VIII.
 Huq, Motaharul, XVII.
 Huq, M. Shamsul, VIII.
 Huq, Syed, Ahmadul, 301.
 Husain, Hyder, 301.
 Hutchinson, R. H. S., XVI, 1, 116, 119, 137, 172, 178, 181, 214, 215, 231, 233, 297, 301.

Hyde O. B. E., Lt. Col., 298.

I

Ibn Battutah, 301.
 Ibn Zabala, IX.
 Ichhamati, 98, 162.
 Imam, Mr. H. T., 298.
 India, 69, 100, 141.
 Iqbal, Mr. M. A. Kareem, 298.
 Irawadi, 33.
 Ishaq, Muhammad, VIII, 199, 301.
 Islamabad, 28, 239.
 Islam, A. K. M. N., I, VII, 12.
 Islam, Mr. Aminul, 298.
 Islam, Shamima, VIII.

J

Jack, J. C., XVI.
 Janu, King, 34.
 Jaychandra, 26.
 Joao de Silveirs, 26.

K

Kalabagha, 33.
 Kaladam river, 63.
 Kalampoli, 272.
 Kalapanagar, 33.
 Kalimulla, A. N., VII.
 Kalindi Rancee, 242, 254.
 Kamalaingya, 38.
 Kamalchega, 34, 89.
 Kamalchheri, 262.
 Kaptai, 7, 16, 19, 20, 39, 94, 95, 109, 113, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 154, 168, 263, 267, 270, 271, 272, 273, 276, 287, 291, 293.

- Kaptai Boat Building Industrial Corporation, 154.
- Kaptai Dam, 8, 9, 42, 77, 88, 98, 100, 110, 111, 147, 184, 262, 264, 271, 289.
- Kaptai Hydro-Electric Project, 12, 13, 100, 273.
- Kaptai Khal, 29.
- Kaptai Lake, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 94, 97, 100, 147, 283, 287.
- Kaptai Multipurpose Project, 9.
- Kaptai Reserve Forest, 100.
- Kaptai reservoir, 115.
- Karim, Dr. A., 301.
- Karim, Dr. A. H. M., VII.
- Karnafuli Hydro-Electric Project 16, 186, 287, 289, 291, 292.
- Karnafuli Multipurpose Project, 154, 155.
- Karnafuli Paper & Rayon Mills, 286.
- Karnafuli Paper Mill, 139, 154, 155, 295.
- Karnafuli Paper Mills High School, 193, 199, 286.
- Karnafuli Project High School, 193, 199, 287.
- Karnafuli Project Mechanical Division Workshop, 154.
- Karnafuli Rayon and Chemicals Ltd. 154, 156.
- Karnafuli Reservior, 79, 88, 92, 147, 181 292.
- Karnafuli river, V, 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 16, 21, 23, 31, 100, 116, 126, 141, 203, 215, 239, 253, 262, 263, 285, 287, 290, 291, 292, 294, 295.
- Karnafuli Village, 90.
- Kasalong Reservoir Forest, 147.
- Kasalong villages, 90.
- Kassalong, VI, 6, 7, 23, 42, 85, 88, 97, 99, 126, 127, 161, 164, 170, 265, 271, 272, 288, 289.
- Kassalong High School, 193, 200.
- Kassalong model Town, 293.
- Kassalong Rehabilitation, 288.
- Kassalong Reserve Forest, 98, 100, 290.
- Kassalong river, 23, 147, 294.
- Kassalong Valley, 23.
- Kattali market, 168.
- Kauffmann, H. E., a German anthropologist, 88.
- Kawkhali, 167, 168.
- Keokradong Hill, 2.
- Kengu (mouza), 60.
- Keokradang, 4.
- Keranirhat, 143.
- Kerowpara, 142.
- Khabir, K. A., VII.
- Khagrachhari, 145, 169, 181, 183, 184, 199, 268, 269, 270, 293.
- Khagrachhari-Dighinala, 143.
- Khagrachhari High School, 193, 199, 289.
- Khagrachhari Union, 289.
- Khamuang, Meng (Shah Hossain), 27.
- Khan, Abdul Khair Ahmad, XVII.
- Khan, Ali, 49.
- Khan, Buksh Jan, (Chakma Chief), 49.
- Khan, Chanan, 34.
- Khan, Dharam Bukhsh, 35, 37, 42, 44, 50 74, 77, 89, 97, 98, 147, 154, 162.
- Khan, Fateh, 34, 35, 49.
- Khan, Fazlul Huq, VIII.
- Khan, Hamidullah, XV.
- Khan, Jabbar, (Chakma Chief), 35, 49.
- Khan, Janbux, (son of Sherdoulat Khan), 35.
- Khan, Jubal, 34.
- Khan, Mir Qasim Ali, 28, 239, 251.
- Khan, Mir L. R., 298.
- Khan, Mr. S. Z., 298.

Khan, Murshid Quli, 239.
 Khan, Principal Ebrahim, VII.
 Khan, Rahmat, 35.
 Khan, Rahmat (Chakma Chief), 49.
 Khan, Raja Dharm Baksh, 249.
 Khan, Ratan, 34.
 Khan, Rona, 2.
 Khan, Shaista, 28.
 Khan, Sherdoulat (grand son of Raja Fateh Khan, 35.
 Khan, Sherjan, (Chakma Chief), 49.
 Khan, Shermast (Chakma Chief), 49.
 Khan, Shermust, 35.
 Khan, Tabbar (son of Janbux Khan), 35.
 Khamtlang, 3.
 Khashkhali, 272.
 Khedarmara, 288.
 Khedirmara, 148.
 Kilay, 25.
 Kilby, J. S. K., 297.
 Kindersly, J. B., 301.
 King of Bangala, 26.
 Kodalla, 98.
 Konglafru, 38.
 Konjai, the third Mong Raja in 1801, 239.
 Kotwali, 264, 279.
 Kotwali thana, 291.
 Kowakhyong (Mouza), 60.
 Kukurticheri, 129.
 Kuphru, 26.
 Kutubdia, 20, 21, 22, 272.
 Kutukchari 167.
 Kynsa Khyong, 7.

L

Lakshmi Chari, 169, 271.

Lama, 40, 170, 175, 265, 273, 267, 268, 269, 270.
 Lama, the thana headquarters, 283.
 Kamu:hhari, 272.
 Lane, Mr. 35.
 Langadu, 40, 143, 148, 179, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 273.
 Langadu Market, 168.
 Langadu union, 290.
 Langaldhan 33.
 Langtra, 3.
 Laos, 293.
 Latin Script, 70.
 Lawrance Edward, 70.
 Lewin, Cap. H. T., (first Deputy Commissioner of Chittagong Hill Tracts., XIV, 1, 2, 44, 59, 64, 71, 77, 81, 97, 118, 127, 128, 219, 231, 232, 243, 251, 257, 297, 302.
 Lewin's Comparative Vocabulary, 59.
 Liegh, M. S., XV.
 London Baptist Mission Society, 286.
 Longong, 142, 143.
 Longodu, 183.
 Longong, 170.
 Lucien Bernot, 74.
 Lulaing, 3.
 Lulaing Khal, 3.
 Lulaing Peak, 3.
 Lungleh, 7, 141.
 Lungliang, 3.
 Lungshern range, 10.
 Lushai district, 69.
 Lushai expedition, 38.
 Lushai Hill (India), 7, 69, 97, 100, 141.
 Lushai Hill (Mizo Hills), 1.
 Lyall's, 20.

M

- Mabakhya (mauza), 60.
 Machai, 37.
 Machai as Mong Raja, 239.
 Modalia, 34.
 Macgill, G. 297.
 Macgill, Superintendent, 242.
 Magrath, Captain, first Superintendent, 251, 297.
 Mahalchari Road, 142.
 Mahalchhari, 40, 143, 148, 164, 169, 179, 183, 199, 200, 265, 267, 268, 273.
 Mahalchhari Bazar, 290.
 Mahalchhari thana, 289.
 Mahalya, 145.
 Mahamuni dighi, 35.
 Mahamuni fair, 35.
 Mahamuni temple, 35.
 Maheskhali, 21, 22.
 Maichagiri, 34.
 Maini, 126.
 Maini Forest Reserve land, 23.
 Maini head water reserve, 100.
 Mainimukh, 15, 110, 145, 147, 148, 271, 273, 290.
 Mainimukh Market, 169.
 Maini river, 109, 290.
 Maini Stream, 97.
 Maini village, 42, 90.
 Maini Valley, 3, 6, 262.
 Main Mukh Valley, 180.
 Maisang, 34.
 Maischeri, 119, 148, 169.
 Majumder, Dr. R. C., 302.
 Mangji, Shua, 25.
 Manglay, 25.
 Manikbi, 34.
 Manikchari, 141, 143, 148, 161, 169, 183.
 Manikchhari, 269, 271, 290.
 Manikseri, 175.
 Mara Taung range, 4.
 Marikya (King), 34.
 Marisha, 143.
 Marishya, 142, 145, 147, 148, 170, 179, 183, 184, 262, 268, 269.
 Marishy (in Kassalong Valley), 43.
 Maschari, 148.
 Maskubha, 271.
 Maskumba, 146.
 Masray, C. S., 297.
 Massalong, 146.
 Matamuhuri, 9, 23, 92, 98, 162, 163.
 Matamuhuri Reserve Forest, 107, 283.
 Matamuhuri Reserve Vest, 99.
 Matamuhuri river, 1, 2, 21, 22, 25, 38, 147, 283, 289.
 Matamuhuri river or Moree Khyong, 8.
 Matamuhuri valley, 6, 36, 60, 63.
 Manikbi 33.
 Mawson, O, 297.
 Max Khal, 38.
 Mazumdar, K., XVI.
 McDermott, R. A., 297.
 Medina, X.
 Mengkhari, *alias* Ali Khan, 25.
 Meng Phalaung (Sikandar Shah) Arakanese King, 27.
 Meikhla Nara, 25.
 Mibakhya (Mouza), 60.
 Minbin (*alias* Zabauk Shah), 26.
 Miocene epoch, 4.
 Mir Jafar, 251.

Mission Hospital, Chandraghona, 197.

Mitra, S. C., XV.

Mizo, Hills, 3.

Mogalya, 34.

Mohalchari, 175.

Mohalchari Hospital, 182.

Mong Chiefs, 252.

Mong Circle, 240.

Mosalong, 271.

Moufru, 38.

Mowdok Mual, 4.

Mowdok Thang, 4.

M/S. Dawood Industries, Ltd., 156.

Mugh Circle, 36.

Muhammad, Dr. Quazi Din, VII.

Mukherji, Sachidananda, XV.

Multi-purpose Hydel Project, 126.

Mumay, C. S., 297.

Muranja Range, 3.

Murung, 170.

N

Naikhongchhari, 290.

Naikhongchhari, 18, 40, 264, 265, 267, 270.

Nainyachhari Bazar, 290.

Nakhyanchari, 179.

Nakhyongchhari, 183.

Nalbaria, 148.

Nalkhongchhari, 269.

Namiarchar, 145, 148, 167, 262,

Naraisari, 271.

Narangri Pilot High School, 193, 196, 199.

Nariarchar, 143.

Nashpo Taung, 3.

Nath, Jagendra, XVI.

National Bank of Pakistan, 173.

Nazirhat, 111.

Webster, J. E., 292.

Nelson, W. H., XVI.

Niblett, Major L. H., 298.

Nilkamal Das, 215.

Nizampur Road, 35.

Noakhali, 21, 163.

Nomani, H. H., XVII.

N. Roy, 71.

Nusrat, 26.

O

O'Malley, L. S. S., XVI, 302.

Orissa, 251.

Owen, C., 297.

P

Pablakhali, 15, 145, 271, 272, 290, 291.

Pajmala, 215.

Pakistan, 3, 32, 158, 257.

Pakistan Eastern Railway, 111.

Palangkhayong, 239.

Polong Khyong in Arakan, 253.

Panchhari, 142, 143, 145, 169, 183, 267, 272, 291.

Panchlaish, 21.

Paong Raja, the Bohmong, 253.

Paper Mills and Rayon Mill at Chandraghona, 111.

Paradah (mouza), 60.

Paragal Khan, 26.

Pargiter, 302.

Patachara, 145.

Patiya, 21.

Pauchhari, 200.

Pauchhari High School, 200.
 Paul, Promode Lal, 302.
 Pay Gavy, 148.
 P. C. Basu, 299.
 Pegu, 37.
 Pelitai range, 3.
 Perchara, 167.
 Phayre, Colonel Sir, A., 232.
 Phore (well-known authority on history of Burma), 59.
 Phoromain, 3, 4.
 Phoromain Range, 3.
 PIDC, 155.
 Poaparu High School under Rangamati Subdivision, 199.
 Poanghat 142.
 Politai, 4.
 Politye, 8.
 Pomra, 272.
 Port of Chittagong, 155.
 Power, A. W., 297.
 Pranal para, 167.
 Prinkong, 272.
 Pyndu, 31.
 Pyramid Hill, 2.

R

Raban, Captain (Later on Major), 30.
 Radhamohan, 34.
 Radongsa, 34.
 Radzagni, Meng, 27.
 Rahim, Dr. A., 302.
 Rahman, Bazlur, VIII.
 Rahman, Daudur, VII.
 Rahman, H., 302.
 Rahman, Mr. M. S., 298.
 Rahman, Shamsur, VIII.
 Raichar, 143.
 Raikhali, 168.
 Multiplication Farm, 89.
 Rainkhong, 167.
 Rainkhyong, VI, 164, 272.
 Rainkhyong, Reserved Forests, 10, 98.
 Rainkhyong river, 100.
 Rainkhyong Valley, 109.
 Rai, Shukheda, 49.
 Raity, E., 297.
 Raja, Ghatya, (Toll-Tax Collector Raja), 34.
 Rajanagar, 35.
 Rajembi, 34.
 Rajmala, 26.
 Rajput, 71.
 Rajput, A. B., 60 302.
 Rajthali, 168.
 Rakhang, 27.
 Ramgarh, III, IV, V, 3, 6, 8, 12, 32, 37, 40, 43, 90, 126, 136, 141, 143, 145, 148, 169, 173, 178, 179, 182, 183, 189, 192, 196, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 276, 279, 287, 291.
 Ramgarh Government High School, 199.
 Ramgarh, Sadar, 288.
 Ramghar Sadar Hospital, 182.
 Ramgarh subdivision, 37, 235, 240, 257, 258, 263, 273, 283, 289, 290.
 Ramgarh Thana, 283.
 Ramghar High School, 193.
 Ramiu Taung, 4.
 Ramu, 25, 38, 40, 106, 111, 179, 254, 267.
 Ranee, Kalindi, (the chief queen of Dharambux Khan), 35.

Rangamati, III, IV, V, VI, 12, 18, 21, 25, 32, 33, 36, 43, 76, 90, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 111, 115, 133, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 161, 164, 167, 173, 175, 178, 180, 181, 182, 184, 186, 192, 197, 249, 251, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 279, 281, 285, 287, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294.

Rangamati Bazar, 293.

Rangamati College, 194, 200, 293.

Rangamati Girl's High School, 200.

Rangamati Govt. Employees Co-operative Society, 132.

Rangamati Govt. High School, 173, 186, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 293.

Rangamati High School, 191.

Rangamati Public Library, 196.

Rangamati Sadar Hospital, 181, 293.

Rangamati Sadar Subdivision, 199, 240, 246, 253, 257, 258, 265, 286, 295.

Rangamati Shah High School, 199.

Rangapari, 148.

Rang Mang, 4.

Ranir Hat, 167.

Rannell, J. 302.

Raosan, 106.

Rashid, A. XVII.

Rashid, A. K. M. Harunur, VIII.

Rashid, H. 302.

Raszan, 141.

Razagyi, Mang, (King of Arakan), 37.

Redford, C. S. S. 297.

Reford, C. A. S. 297.

Rezvi, S. S. H., VI.

Risbey H. H., 302.

Rizvi, S. N. H., I, VII, XVII.

Roy, Besudeb, XV.

Roy, Captain Kumar Tridiv, 36, 219.

Roy, Jatindra Kumar, XVI.

Roy, Kumar Bhuvan Mohan, 36.

Ray, Pravat Kumar, 233.

Roy, Raja Bhuvan Mohan, 302.

Ray, Raja Nalinaksha, 36, 320.

Roy, Raja Tridiv, 323.

Roy, Rani Benita, 233.

S

Sabok Khyong, 8.

Sabir, Majeda, VIII.

Salek, Abdus, VII.

Sadafru, (son of Konglafru), 38.

Saichal Mowdok Range, 4.

Saichal Peak, 4.

Saichal range, 4.

Sain, Kumar Komfru, (Mugh Chief), 37.

Sajek Valley, 69, 70, 71, 81, 91, 166.

Samhudi, Nuruddin Ali, X.

Samudrajit, 33.

Sandwip, 20, 21, 22.

Sangu range, 4.

Sangu Reserve Forest, 101, 105.

Sangu Reserve vest, 99.

Sangu river, 1, 3, 8, 9, 12, 21, 23, 26, 37, 63, 74, 88, 92, 162, 284, 285, 294.

Sangu valley, 6, 31, 60, 246.

Sardar, Kalu Khan, 34.

Sanctuary at Bagaihat, 110.

Sarkar, Sir Jadu Nath, 303.

Sarta, 98.

Satafru, 38.

Sathanfru, 38.

Sathua, 1, 34.

Satkania, 21.

Sattar Match Works Ltd., Harbang, 154.

- Sattar, Mr. Abdus, 229.
 Schilich, William, K. C. I. E., 107.
 Sealbukka, 144, 167, 183.
 Sekdu (Mouza), 60.
 Sen, Kali Sankar, XV.
 Sen, K. P., 303.
 Shafer, R. 230, 232.
 Shah, Alauddin Hussain, 26.
 Shaha, Mr. Brojonath, 222.
 Shaha, R. R., XVI.
 Shah High School, 293.
 Shahid, Abdus, VIII.
 Shah, Mr. M. H., 298.
 Shah, Rukunuddin Barbak, 26.
 Shah, Sher, 26.
 Shah, Sikander (King of Arakan), 26.
 Shah, Sultan Fakhruddin Mubarak, 25.
 Shah, Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad, 25.
 Shakespeare, 33, 71.
 Shakespeare, Lt., Col. J. 303.
 Shakya, 33.
 Sharif Mr. M. E., 298.
 Shermaiya, 34.
 Sherwill, Major, J. L., XIV.
 Shillong, 20.
 Shishok, 100, 271, 272.
 Shua Mangji, 25.
 Shubalong, 164.
 Shukdera, 35.
 Shushi, W. H. T., 298.
 Shyamal, 33.
 Siam, 203.
 Sibcharan, (most popular folk poet).
 Silchari, 98.
 Silpaitang, 167.
 Sindukchari, 145.
 Singha Kailash Chandra, 303.
 Sitakund, 21, 37.
 Sitamura Range, 286.
 Sitapahar, 4, 97, 99, 107.
 Sitapahar Reserved Forest, 90, 109, 215.
 Soamwan, Meng, (Arakanese King), 25.
 Sonaro, 38.
 Spain, IX.
 Stephen, R. A., 297.
 Sterling Plywood Products Ltd. Silichery, 154.
 Stevens, C. C. B., XVI, 298.
 Stevens, G. A., 298.
 Stevenson, 230.
 Stewart, 303.
 Subadanpara, 272.
 Subalong, VI, 7, 98, 142, 145, 146, 148, 183, 293.
 Subalong Bazar, 295.
 Subalong head waters, 97.
 Subalong Khagrachhari, 168.
 Subalongmukh, 110.
 Sudhanya, 33.
 Sulak, 162.
 Sumesur, 33.
 Sureswari, 34.
 Sutherland, XIV.
 Swalac, 142, 143.
 Swedish-Pakistan Institute of Technology, 195, 287.
 Syed, Md. Abu, I.
 Syriam, 27.

T

Tabalchhari, 169, 183, 184, 267, 269.
 Tabalchhari Bazar, 293, 294.
 Tabari, IX.
 Taifur, S. M., XVI.
 Taimidang, 145.
 Taish, Abdur Rahman, XVI.
 Talaing or Pegu, 36.
 Talbol, W. S. XVI.
 Talish Shihabuddin, 303.
 Tankawati, 98.
 Taraf Sukhadar, 35.
 Tashon Country, 71.
 Taylor, 232.
 Taylor, Dr., XIV.
 Teknaf, 25.
 Tewa river, 33.
 Thainkhiang, 3.
 Thancehi, 170.
 Thandacheri, a tea garden, 141.
 Thangnang, 3.
 The Agricultural Development Bank of
 Pakistan, Rangamati, 277.
 The Bohmong, 252.
 The Chittagong Hill Tracts and the dwellers
 therein, 97.
 Thega, 7, 98, 141.
 Thega Mukh, 168.
 Thega reserve forest, 98.
 The Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts
 233.
 The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the
 dwellers therein with comparative *voca-
 bularies* of the Hill Dialects, 232.
 The London Baptist Missionary Society, 75.
 The Rajaweng or History of Arakan, 61.

The Subalong head water reserve, 100.
 The Swedish-Pakistan Institute of Techno-
 logy (SPIT), Kaptai, 276.
 The thega head water reserve, 100.
 Thoilafru, 38.
 Thompson, XVI.
 Thongza, Chandha, 34.
 Thongza, Kadam, 34.
 Thongza, Kala, 34.
 Thongza, Rama, 34.
 Thornton, Edward, XIV.
 Thum or Saichal main, 100.
 Tindu, 3.
 Tinkonia, 145.
 Tinkunia Range, 272.
 Tintilla, 98.
 Tippera, 27, 30, 215.
 Tripura State, (in India), 1, 27.
 Tsni, Mwun (Chakma King), 25.
 Tsula Tsandra, A king of Arakan, 25.
 Tlandropa, 74.
 Tuilianpui river, 3.
 Tumbrue, 170.
 Turmmer, Mr., 35.
 Twine Khyong, 2.
 Tyambang or Chimbuk range, 3.

U

Ubaid, Caliph, IX.
 Udayagiri, 33.
 Ujaintia, 22.
 Ultachhari, 272.
 Uparampara, 3.
 Upper Rainkhyong, 97.

V

Vas, J. A. XVI.

Verlest, Mr. Henry (Chief of Chittagong),
35.

W

Wagga, 148, 168.

Waibung, 4.

Wayla Range, 3.

Wayla Taung, 3.

Westland, T., XIV.

West Pakistan, 111.

Wilkinson, H. R., 298.

Wilson, Sir James, XV.

Y

Yakyaw, Mahapinna, 37.

Yaringchhari, 272.

Younje, J., 298.

Z

Zau Country, 71.